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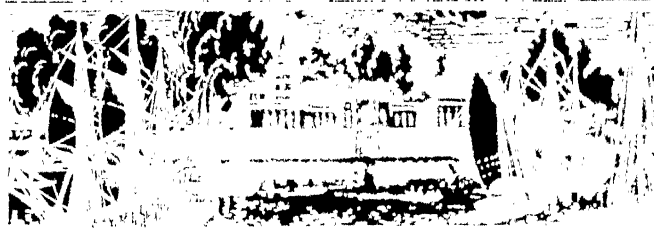
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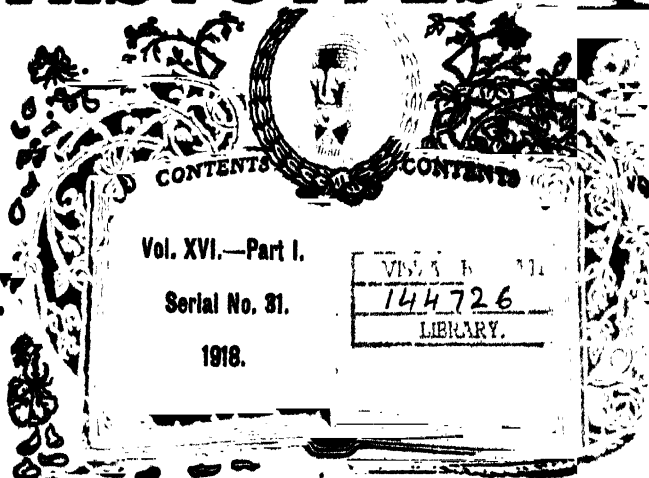
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BENGALEE PAST & PRESENT



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The Nesbitt-Thompson Papers—III.

No. 10.

ALIPOOR,

Thursday, 4th August 1785.

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Gladwyn's paper up to day informs us that the *Swallow* is to be dispatched on Saturday next, though I do not believe it, I must in prudence act as if I did, and begin my letters. This I have purposely deferred as long as possible lest in the variable, indecisive and mysterious measures of our present Government I should be obliged to contradict to-day the assertions of yesterday. My two last letters were dated in April and May and were sent by way of Bussora. If you shall have received them they will in some measure have prepared you for the strange events which I am to relate in this.

Sunt lacrymae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.

Stewart, your gentle, mild, professing, zealous friend Stewart, has lent himself soul and body to the purposes of your enemies, and in my mind to the common enemy of mankind. I want words to cover the enormous guilt and folly of his conduct, and will therefore, as Shakespear somewhere advises, let it go naked, that it may be seen the plainer. Your back was scarce turned before he forgot the address of thanks, and gave his mighty mind to the arrangement of new plans for the collection of the revenues, and to the destruction of the system which you had formed for that purpose. In his rage for improvement nothing could oppose him. He was more furious than the Dragon of Wantley, or than the knight who slew him. His wrath was bent against things they never heard of. Dewauns, Committee—men and such things—were e'en to him as geese and ducklings.

At his great bidding they were all to fly before him. They were inadequate he said to the ends of their institution—and either the corrupt source or the helpless subject of endless deception: and to remedy all the evils which ever had existed or ever could exist in the management of the revenues, he proposed that they should be committed to the exclusive care of himself and Mr. Stables, whom, he modestly says, it would be impossible to deceive. These infallible gentlemen were to perform this easy work by way of

relaxation I suppose from their other toils, in monthly rotation, to the great relief of the Governor-General, and to the preclusion of all meaner assistance, except that which they might deign to receive from the disinterested labors of their able and virtuous friends Mr. Graham and Mr. Moor. It is not in words however, or in any words but his own, to do justice to Mr. Stewart's ideas. I refer you therefore to his minute. You will see one or two rays of light glimmering through the whole, but so much refracted by the crooked medium through which they have passed that you will scarce believe them to have originally flowed from the enlightened mind of Mr. Shore.

Stewart indeed though zealous in the opposition to your friends and your measures has borne but a secondary part in it. Its leaders are as you may suppose Mr. Stables, Moor, Graham, McDougal, Nobkissun, Sudder-u-Dein, Ram-Chunder Sein and a few others. You know them all too well to receive much concern from their enmity. Even the ingratitude and apostacy of the grinning Graham will not surprize you when you consider his country, his cunning, and his credulity.

Their most violent attack has been directed against Gunga Govind Sing—and infamous has been its conduct.

You remember that Ghwolaum Ashruff was taken up on suspicion of forgery. He was led to suppose that by representing Gunga Govind Sing and his son as sharers in his guilt, he should be able to obtain his pardon. Mr. Willes to whom the investigation was committed, detected and exposed the falsehood of his accusation. He was committed to the new Fort for further trial, and remained forgotten till about a month before your departure. He then applied for a Habeas Corpus, and to prevent any interference with the Supreme Court you moved that he might be delivered over to the Fouzdar. Your motion was not considered by the other members till after your departure. In the mean time the native enemies of Gunga Govind Sing, who thought this a favourable time to exalt themselves on his disgrace, again prevailed on Ghwolaum Ashruff to accuse him. A committee was appointed for the investigation of the charges against Ghwolaum Ashruff. Its members were Wilkins, Grant the Informer, John ? Duncan, and Grant the Philosopher; the latter declined and White was appointed in his stead. Wilkins thinks himself neglected by you—and was of old offended with Gunga Govind Sing. You were deceived if you thought that generosity or candor could operate on a mind like Grant's. He is as far from admiring as possessing such qualities, and necessarily must dislike you. Duncan is I believe an able honest man. White is weak and was led by Wilkins and Grant. Such were the Commissioners—their business was to enquire into the forgeries committed by Ghwolaum Ashruff. Forgetful however of this,

they seem to have met for the purpose only of establishing if possible the guilt of Gunga Govind Sing. Grant in his first minute indirectly avows the design, and all the others I believe except Duncan steadily pursued it. This perhaps will not be evident from the face of their proceedings, though it was incontestably so in the general sense of the whole settlement. On the 25th they summoned Praun Kisshun to attend. I advised him not to go for the reasons you will find in the letter No. which I wrote in his name to Wilkins. They were afraid of the grand jury which was then setting and took no measures to enforce obedience to their summons. Fortunate for him it was that he followed my advice. On the very day appointed for his attendance, his enemies had prepared to surprize him with a long connected chain of purjured evidence; which as he could not immediately have disproved, would in all probability have led to his instant commitment. The witnesses however who were engaged for this purpose, collecting possibly from his non-attendance that he was not yet a ruined man, were alarmed, and faltered; at length one of them confessed that he was suborned, and a discovery was forced upon the Commissioners which shocks human nature, and which I leave their own records to reveal to you. They reported the event to the Board, and the Board directed the witnesses to be prosecuted for conspiracy against Gunga Govind Sing. They were four in number two run away—two were tried, and one of them convicted. These however were poor wretches, whose only means of subsistence was that of perjury, who had no particular enmity to Gunga Govind Sing and who were the instrument[s] only of those who had. These we endeavoured to trace, and though to our own conviction we found them beyond all doubt in the persons of Nobkisshun, Sudder-u-Dein and others we could obtain legal evidence only against Ram Chunder Sein, and Gopee Nazir. Against these two the grand jury found a bill of indictment and they will take their trial at the next sessions. The committee of inquisition had now sat from the eleventh of April to the for the sole purpose of detecting the supposed criminality of Gunga Govind Sing and his son. During the course of the enquiry they had not procured *sic* slightest evidence against them, and had found that even the witnesses who had appeared against them were suborned. It was reasonable to suppose therefore that the Commission would close, and that the innocence of Gunga Govind Sing and his son would be admitted. Not so—the committee still sits—and Mr. Stewart still declares them guilty,—for Heaven's sake read his last minute. *That* of the 19th July—Though I do not here mean to answer it in all its parts I cannot help taking notice of the gross falsehood with which it concludes—best relying on the confidence with which it is asserted—you should give it a moment's credit.

To prove the superior merit of Rajah Raju Bullub compared with

that of Gunga Govind Sing. he says that when the former was the head native officer of the Khalsa in 1772-3 the Company's net Collections were ... 2,14,61,019-1-14-2 and that in 1783-4 they were only ... 1,86,43,107-14-7-1

The difference in favor of the former being ... 28,17,911-3-7-1

The first principle of this reasoning is wrong, for Raja Raje Bullub was no more the head officer of the Khalsa in 1772—than in 1783. He was then what he is now and ever must be an empty name. This business at both periods was in truth conducted by Gunga Govind Sing and his agents. But admitting the principle upon which he reasons, his statement in support of it is untrue. He means only to state the landed revenue—Croftes has done the same and the result is greatly in favour of the later period. If I can get a copy of Croftes' statement I will send it to you, lest I should not, I will add a statement which I have received from Gunga Govind Sing—of the gross revenue at the period referred to by Mr. Stewart.

		JUMMA.	WAUSIL.	BAUKY.
B. year 1179— X. or year— 1772-3	Khalsa ...	17,12,927-6-18-2	1,56,33,721-5-0-0	14,95,906-1-18-2
	Behar ...	44,86,341-1-5	44,01,083-8-0-0	• 85,257-9-5-0
	24-Purgs., Burdwan } Midnapore, &c. }	69,48,562 11-6-2	66,47,617-11-16	2,00,944-8-10-2
	TOTAL ...	2,85,64,530-12-10	2,67,82,422-8-16	17,82,180-3-14-0
B. year 1189 or X. or year 1773-4	Total of the above ...	3,40,07,217-9-2-2	2,83,01,244-9-5-3	31,05,972-15-16-3
(Sic).	The actual collections of 1783-4 exceed those of 1772-3 by 15,18,822-9-3			

Some time after this minute of Mr. Stewart was delivered, Mr. Macpherson desired I would prepare an answer to it, comprehending a general view of all the proceedings relative to Gunga Govind Sing—but to be as mild and moderate as possible, that is, to talk about it and about it, but to leave the subject just where I found it. Nothing could be further from my own wishes. I saw that till the Chitpoor Commission was closed any opinion relative to the merits or demerits of Gunga Govind Sing must have been premature and subject to much future discussion. To make it final therefore, to annihilate the committee and to decide at once on the fate of Gunga Govind Sing I advised Mr. Macpherson as a previous and necessary step to the attainment of all these objects to deliver the accompanying minute No. 3. I sent

it to him on the 25th July but whether he has yet delivered it, or what has been its fate, I know not.

The second charge against Gunga Govind Sing and his son is *that* brought by Ramjee Mull. Though the proceedings of the 6th May will convince you of the malice and falsehood of the accusation, they will give you no idea of the gross absurdity which marked its investigation; for Duncan the sub-secretary, concerned no doubt for the honor of the department in which he served, has omitted to record the extravagancies of Stables and Stewart, and has contrived to give the appearance of method to their madness. Cowper told me what passed. Ramjee Mull, an obscure farmer, who had defaulted for almost one-third of his revenue, and who was on that account under charge of the committee's prisons, was brought forward as the accuser of the Dewan and his naib, and as if ennobled by the character was suffered to keep his seat in the council room, till at the representation of Cowper he was desired to stand. So avowed indeed was the encouragement which he received from Mr. Stewart, and so great was that gentleman's anxiety for the establishment of the charge, that when his discernment enabled him to see the contradiction in the fellow's evidence, he frequently interfered to set him right, and in several instances prevented the secretary, from recording the proofs which he afforded of his own falsehood. Neither the zeal or discernment however of Mr. Stewart has been able to make his friend consistent, or to make the worse appear the better cause. The charge contains such irresistible evidence of its own untruth, that it scarce requires for its refutation the able answer which Praun Kisshun has given to it.

The third and last charge is very curiously and liberally grounded on an act which you yourself had expressly recommended to the approval and confirmation of the Board, as one means of rewarding his past services. I mean his purchase of lands in Dinagepore. This indeed is the charge which Mr. Stables pretends to think unanswerable and on which, as if in disdain of every other, he confidently rests for the overthrow of the Dewan. I obtained a sight of Mr. Stables' minute of the 15th May, and hearing that Mr. Macpherson had put in a very milk and water kind of answer to it, I thought it proper that Gunga Govinda Sing should speak for himself and therefore wrote for him a letter to the Board of which I send you a copy (No. 2). Though I intended it to meet the assertions, for they are neither facts nor arguments, of Mr. Stables's minute, I was obliged to write in pretended ignorance of it, since Gunga Govind Sing could with no propriety avow a knowledge of what had never been officially communicated to him. The arguments therefore are general, and consequently much weaker than they might have been, could I have directly opposed them to propositions which they were meant to refute. I have no copy of Mr.

Stables's minute, but I recollect that he compares the jumma mentioned in the purchase deed as the price of the lands, with their *actual* jumma, and states the difference between them as the yearly and perpetual profit of the purchaser fraudulently acquired at the expense not only of the zemindar but the Company. In this reasoning he is closely followed by his co-adjutor Mr. Stewart. They are both as wrong as ignorance and prejudice can make them.

In every purchase deed the price is settled according to the toomaur jumma; it is so in this: But though the toomaur jumma determines the price to be paid to the vendor, it by no means determines the rents which shall be paid to Government: These will commonly be as much as the lands are capable of producing, and certainly as much whilst they are in the hands of Gunga Govind Sing as whilst in the possession of the zameendar.

Both Mr. Stables and Mr. Stewart remark too with great indignation that the purchase deed asserts a falsehood, for that it recites that the lands are impoverished and that the zameendar is unable to "improve them." Mr. Stewart after twenty years' service should have known that these are now words of course in every conveyance, and that they are such, because they express the only cause which in former times could authorize the sale of lands. Nay, such fictions are to be found in the conveyances used in our own country.

They both likewise concurred in protesting that the native officers of the revenue are by express orders prohibited from purchasing lands. The committee was referred to. Their answer was that the native officers were expressly permitted to purchase lands—under certain restrictions, none of which Gunga Govind Sing has attempted to evade. The committee's letter is dated 9th June 1785. The order to which it alludes is recorded in their own proceedings of the 13th August 1781.

These circumstances I here mention because you will find no traces of them in my enclosures, no faithful traces of them possibly in the records.

From the perusal of these proceedings you will observe that though Stables and Stewart possessed a decided majority, though they were anxiously bent on the same object, and though neither they or their agents had been restrained by decency, moderation, or justice in the pursuit of it, they are so totally destitute of plan, co-operation or ability that they have not yet been able to effect their common purpose. They have both long since separately moved for the dismissal of the Dewan and all his dependants; but the proposition of each containing the confused unconquerable principles of the chaos from which it sprung, they continue dark and void, and defy the utmost powers of their authors to give them light or harmony.

Opposed to such men it might be supposed that Mr. Macpherson's only

difficulty would be to determine the destruction. But alas! his selfish fears, his indecision, and his excessive refinement give strength and consequence even to such enemies, whilst they totally destroy the confidence of all his friends. My opinion of him is unaltered, and perhaps unalterable, for I confess that it at this moment stands opposed to the apparent tendency of some of his actions. I give him full credit for effecting the nomination of Harpur, for his defence, equivocal as it is, of Gunga Govind Sing, and for his general *civility* towards all your friends. I do not mean to develop his actions. You are now on the spot to see them in their true light, and I am far from wishing that *that* may be an unfavourable one.

Had he possessed but common firmness he might have attached to his service the best abilities in the settlement. His personal interest, his public credit, and the headlong indiscriminating opposition of the other members to your measures necessarily engaged him in the partial support of them. Friendship therefore towards you, as well as an universal detestation of Stewart's ingratitude and Stables's brutality concurred with the natural influence of his office, his great good nature and the superiority of his talents compared with those of his colleagues to set all men on his side. I really don't believe that Stables and Stewart had an advocate in the settlement except Graham, Moor, McDougal, and their black associates. His pusillanimity if not his duplicity has however robbed him of all confidence and men in general are no longer anxious to render him that assistance of which he has not even spirit to avail himself.

•• McDougal, Moor and others, with a view no doubt to their own emolument, had encouraged the Rajah of Nuddea to demand the management of his Zameendarry. Stables and Stewart supported him; the former in the earnest hope, if not upon the express condition that he should produce *buramuds* against Gunga Govind Sing. Macpherson opposed the Rajah's demand, and the committee furnished him with unanswerable arguments against the Rajah's *present* reinstatement, drawn from his incapacity—the faith of Government pledged to the renters—and the certain loss of the Company. Thus strengthened the Governor went to Council, fully determined as he told Cowper upon setting out to confirm the existing engagement. Cowper always distrusting his firmness contrived to follow him. They were met only by Stables, for Stewart was ill, and to the silent insolent obstinacy of Stables alone unsupported by the bare mention of an argument did Mr. Macpherson yield his fixed opinion, meanly abandoning his own unaltered sense of justice, truth and policy even in the presence of the man to whom he had not ten minutes before engaged himself for its firm support. Cowper, as well he might, gave him up in despair. The same day the settlement was read. I do not exaggerate. Stables stept through the whole of it—and when

he was awakened at its conclusion—declared “ I object to every part of it ”—even Macpherson felt, and issued instant orders for its confirmation.

Davies the lawyer—who though a lawyer, is the most *loyal* of all your friends, Cowper, Evelyn and myself were of opinion that Stewart had no right to his seat. He and Stables were then in the height of their madness. The idea was communicated to Macpherson. I saw however that in the prospect of Sloper's arrival, and with a view to keeping the Council full he might not heartily approve of the removal of Stewart. The question was therefore fairly put to him. He encouraged us to proceed. Davies prepared the arguments which I enclose No. 4 and which are unanswerable. It was agreed that Gunga Govind Sing, in case of extremities, should deliver them to the Board, with a protest against Mr. Stewart's possession of a seat. Mr. Macpherson begged a sight of the arguments; I distrusted him, and left them with him only three hours. He in that time got a copy of them—shewed them to the judges—and pretended that they had verbally expressed a contrary opinion. To us he lamented his embarrassment. To Mr. Stewart he has no doubt much extolled his own moderation, and in the universal exercise of that mild and amiable virtue has perhaps very kindly endeavoured to palliate the intemperance of his young and hasty friends. If he wished not to attempt the removal of Stewart why did he not tell us so when the question was fairly put to him? He must surely have encouraged us in the attempt, for the sake only of making a merit with Stewart in defeating it.

Lord Macartney arrived here on the _____ of June and took up his abode with Mr. Duncan, the gentleman, who in the spirit of Peter, but not with his contrition, thrice denied his master. I have never been able to account for your belief of Duncan when he declared that he was not the agent of Lord Macartney, for, as I recollect, he acted in the character at the very time he disavowed it. Dick Johnson came round with His Lordship and has hardly left him a moment since. He may possibly tell you the real motives of his journey hither, his employment whilst here, and the sentiments with which he leaves us. Larkins too may be able to tell you his probable views, for in the examination of Larkins's records he has spent much time. I have myself seen him only once. He is I *know* most exceedingly exasperated against you for recording a letter from the Nabob of which I send you a copy (No. 5). He saw, I am told, in an English newspaper that such a letter was recorded, and made a formal application to the Board for a copy of it. If His Lordship's candor, human kindness, and moral justice were but equal to his great resolution, or even to his abilities, I should regret that he is not your friend—in such case indeed he could not have been your enemy. I have lately seen such imbecility of purpose in one party, and such gross stupidity in another, that I am led perhaps to give too much credit to

the opposite qualities. It cannot however be denied that Lord Macartney's resignation of an office which others have so ardently sought, and which would have furnished such ample means of gratification to his pride, his ambition, his revenge, and his avarice if he really possesses any, marks a dignity of character, a regulation of his desires that do him infinite honor. I own I admire the act; and I perhaps admire it the more because it so exactly meets my wishes. A log of a Governor may indeed be contemptible, but where the governed are but frogs even a log is better than a crane.

General Sloper arrived on the 21st. Though Willes, who is his nephew, thinks that you unnecessarily sacrificed his interest and credit at Furuckabad, to the views of Palmer and Grant at Lucknow, and feels therefore full as much resentment as gratitude towards you, he is still far from joining with your enemies merely because they are such. He despises Stables and Stewart, and partly at my request wrote to the General at Madras apprizing him of their disgraceful conduct. The General therefore from this and other information arrives with due impressions of them, and with a disposition to join Macpherson. It would indeed have been madness in him to have possessed any other. Macpherson has carefully improved it by those arts in which he so much excels. They do very well to sweeten the intercourse of common life. I am fearful only that he will as usual carry them into the conduct of real business, and endeavour to make them the substitute for truth, good faith, confidence, decided support, and all that is truly valuable and binding in the engagements between man and man. I own I fear it. For Macpherson cannot move straight forward. If he moves at all, it must be in the direction of the serpent, and with his belly to the earth.

The General wished to remove Stewart. Macpherson affected to do the same—but clandestinely got the judges to deliver an opinion "that Mr. Stewart having been admitted to a seat, nothing had happened to deprive him of it." In this opinion the judges carefully avoided any decision upon his first right to take his seat. They well knew that he had no such right; and all the rest of the world will know that if he had no right to get the seat, he can have none to keep it.

The last person I saw on Saturday night was poor Croftes. He was then in health. Before morning a paralytic stroke had robbed him of the use of half his limbs, and all his understanding. How terrible a wreck! Dick Johnson and Kydd have attended him constantly, and knowing your regard for him, will no doubt give you a full account of this melancholy event.

Palmer in the letter which I enclose has spoken fully for himself. I congratulate both him and you, on the successful issue of your arrangements. By this ship I send you another packet containing letters only from your

native correspondents. The cover bearing the mark * was delivered to me by Rajah Govind Ram who says that it contains a faithful transcript of all his correspondence with Lucknow since your departure. He was anxious, I know not why, that it should carry no evidence on its face of coming from him.

The Prince's letters and a full account of him you will receive from Frith—who is now in Calcutta.

Poor Pot has been in hot water ever since you left us. The villanous intrigues of his own Dewan Soonder Sing and of the Beegum's Dewan Roy Maunick Churn have kept up the fire. I have in vain endeavoured to extinguish it—for, to go on with the metaphor—pott boiled over, and I was in danger of being scalded.

Turner has written to you, and as he informs me has told you of our purchase, and of our intended improvements. You will no doubt have been much vexed and surprized to hear of the very small sum which your estate at Alipoor produced. The old house with all the garden was the first lot, and was bought by Mr. Jackson for 27,500 Rs.—Our's was the second—and went at 27,000 Rs., the *Paddock* was the third and brought only 7,000 Rs. Our's you may at all times command at the sum for which we bought it. Landed property has greatly sunk in its value. Mr. Short died about a month ago. An estate for which he paid 40,000 Rs. and in the improvement of which he had spent very near as much, produced at publick sale only 19,000.

The cinnamon tree has produced a great deal of seed, which is now drying, and shall be sent by the *Francis*.

The packet will close at noon and I am therefore compelled to close my letter. I beg you will accept my sincere acknowledgment for all your kindness to me—and that you will believe me as in truth,

I am,

Your grateful and faithful Servant.

GEORGE NESBITT THOMPSON.

Halhed desired I would write to him fully. Since I have known him I have always spoken to him on such subjects as if I were speaking to you. I hope therefore that you will have no objection to shewing him this letter for if there were now time, I could hardly find in my heart to enter again on such a Detail.

I have sent you part of Gladwyn's last paper—in which you will see a full account of the measures which the settlement is adopting for a redress of grievances. I have had no participation in them; for I know whilst they are legal and moderate they will be ineffectual.

I wrote last night to Mr. White to know what was become of the address of thanks to you. "He told me that it had laid some time at the Harmonic House, and that he believed Mr. Stewart finding no other names were added to it had taken it away." I immediately went to town and calling on Larkins got him to concur with me in requesting that Mr. Stewart would send the address to us. This was late last night. I have yet received no answer. I shall first procure the minute which you wrote on your departure to be published and shall then think of the address. It has not had fair play.

Larkins applied for leave to publish the minute in which you testify the sentiments of the Company's Servants in general. Macpherson consented—but Stables opposed. I am not sorry for it. Anthony could not have wished for a more favorable circumstance when he read the will of Cæsar.

G. N. T.

No. 11.

CALCUTTA.

September 8th 1785.

DEAR SIR,

Upon coming to town this morning to sign the three petitions to the different branches of the legislature Mr. Dacres informed me that Mr. Ferguson intends to dispatch by dawk of this evening a packet over land to Bombay in order that it may be forwarded from thence by way of Bussora to England. Though I have myself no confidence in the speed or certainty of this mode of conveyance, I cannot help availing my [self] of it, not only as it indulges the pleasure which I always receive in writing to you but as it enables me in some measure to assist in promoting the views of one of the most able zealous and respectable friends whom you have left in this country. You are not, I am certain, unacquainted with the character and abilities of Mr. Davies; he does infinite credit to both by the increased veneration which he has displayed for your's since your departure. I do not say too much when I assure you that 'tis to the credit of his avowed support in the Supreme Court that Gunga Govind Sing is in great measure indebted for the victory which he has now almost completely obtained over his enemies, but he is I assure you in all things sincerely attached to your interests.

He has shewed me a letter which he has written to you upon the subject of his succession to the appointment of Advocate General held by Sir John Day. He doubts not from the assurances with which you honored him before his departure, that you will favour him with your support in the pursuit of this object. He is apprehensive only from the very unfair means

which have been practised here to deprive him of it and from those which are likely to be pursued by Lord Macartney in England in favor of Mr. Dunkin, that his friends may not be sufficiently vigilant or on their guard to prevent his being disappointed. The late act of Parliament in providing for a regular succession to appointments has been construed in England as extending to that of the Advocate General, and as giving Mr. Davies a clear right to it. In pleading his cause indeed I plead my own. For you must recollect that Sir John Day is Advocate General—Davies is senior council, and I am Junior Council—it is as much therefore my interest as it is his to guard against supercession, and as you are my tutelar God I trust that having created you will preserve me. Dunkin, though a cursed Jesuit, has still the happiness of Mr. Sullivan for his friend. It will require therefore some explanation on your part to shew the superior claims of Mr. Davies to your favor, and his absolute right indeed to his office. Remember you have given to Dunkin the appointment of Registrar to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlat, an office of much greater influence and emolument than either Davies' or mine. Remember too that if Dunkin gets the Advocate Generalship he will hold both appointments, whilst Davies in succeeding to it, would relinquish his present employment and consequently not exhibit so striking an instance of the undue operation of favor, and of the blindness of fortune. I have said nothing of their comparative fitness for the office, for this admits of no comparison. It would not be to compare great things with small, but that which does exist with that which does not.

Davies has explained to you the wild and unjust intentions of Sir John Day. After trying several other means of defeating Davies' succession, he is now labouring to obtain permission to go to England for two years—without relinquishing his office.—If therefore you should be so kind as to interest yourself in Davies' behalf and so fortunate as to succeed,* be careful how the order for his succession is worded—possibly this may do, "that T. H. Davies, Esqr., having long and ably served the Hon'ble Company as their Senior Council in the Supreme Court at Fort William is by the late act of Parliament entitled to succeed to the office of Advocate General whenever Sir John Day shall cease to perform the duties at present annexed to it, and that the said T. H. Davies is therefore appointed to succeed to the said office whenever the said Sir John Day shall vacate it or leave Bengal."—This is not, I know, correct, nor have I time to make it so—for the post is going.

As it is possible that this letter may arrive before the *Swallow* I should tell you that she left this port about the 12th ultimo, that I wrote by her very fully to you—and that Lord Macartney was a passenger on board her. He came here about the month of June. He made early declarations that he would

not take the Government if it should be offered to him. His appointment was announced here on the 31st June—and he absolutely had virtue enough to decline it. Whilst here he had unlimited recourse to all the records not only of Larkins' but of every other office. His labours certainly had not your honor for their object. I have the happiness however of knowing that they will contribute to it. Nay all things, says Holy Writ, work together for the benefit of the good—and even your enemies are useful to you—Larkins admires him—and he admires M—n too. He says they are both honest men. Lord M. is highly offended with you for recording a letter in which he is much abused by the Nabob of Arcot. It was recorded as I recollect in November 1783. He applied to the Board for a copy of it. Croftes received a paralytic stroke on the 6th August. It for a time deprived him of the use of his side, and nearly I believe of his understanding. He is, now much recovered, though still a pitiable object. Palmer is on his way to the Presidency—Harpur has succeeded him—Macpherson has hitherto been joined by Sloper. They are both favourable to Ganga Govind Sing. The committee have closed their proceedings with a report which does them credit, and amply atones for the prejudice with which they set out. All the papers are now before me and I am preparing Mr. Macpherson's final minute of decision on them.—The three petitions against the bill were signed to-day. Old Price has been violent in support of the bill and in opposition to the petition. Make my most respectful compliments and grateful acknowledgments to Mrs. Hastings, and believe me, dear Sir, as in truth I am—

Your most obedient and faithful Servant,
G. N. THOMPSON.

No. 12.

ALIPOOR,
1st November, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR,

By the *Intelligence* packet which will close this evening I have the honor to send you the duplicate of my last letter, and the copy of a minute which I have since prepared for Mr. Macpherson. In the perusal of it I request you will remember that I wrote it neither for you nor myself, but for a gentleman who startles at the perspicuity of truth wherever he meets it, and never so carefully avoids it as in his own reasonings and conduct. This observation must partly account to you for the want of that direct and pointed argument of which the subject was capable—as even

the small degree of direct and pointed argument which the minute *does* possess will no doubt well account for Mr. Macpherson's not having yet delivered it. In fact he is afraid to say a word upon the subject and is like many other very cautious men betrayed into greater danger by his fears than he could have been led by any degree of temerity. He is now guilty of suspending a question which in every view of it called for prompt decision, and of supporting in opposition to two votes which constituted when given the legal Government, a man who has been accused of the most atrocious crimes and in whose behalf, for aught that appears on the records, he has not been able to urge a single plea either in point of fact or argument. Instead of furnishing the explanation of his own conduct, he leaves all who are disposed to consider it, to draw their lights from those pure and abundant sources the minutes of Messrs. Stables and Stewart. Nor would these have ever yet received a single contradiction if I had not, contrary I believe to the wishes of Mr. Macpherson, prevailed on Gunga Govind Sing to deliver his letter recorded the 7th July.

When Mr. Macpherson complained that Mr. Stewart opposed him Mr. Stewart declared in his own justification that he should never have accused Ganga Govind Sing if he had not been prompted and led on to do so by Mr. Macpherson. Mr. M—, you may be sure, denies this, and it is possible he might be believed, if the whole of his conduct, every minute he has recorded, did not confirm the declaration of Mr. S.—It should be observed however that, though the excuse of Mr. Stewart fully justifies him to Mr. Macpherson, it damns him with respect to truth and you—

Mr. Mackenzie yesterday took his seat as a *deliberative* Member of the Committee of Revenue, preparatory to his becoming an efficient one upon the expected resignation of Mr. Charters. To trace Mr. Macpherson through all the indirect and dirty ways by which he led Mr. Mackenzie to this office, would be an irksome task. It is sufficient to say that Johnson was a candidate for the office—that Cowper and Evelyn supported Johnson as the properest man in Calcutta for the execution of it, and opposed Mackenzie as on all accounts the most unfit. Mr. Macpherson agreed with them entirely on both points, but particularly on the incapacity of Mackenzie. He could not bear to hear of the fellow. Yet it was Mr. Macpherson who placed him in the appointment and who now expects that all the rest of the world, except Mr. Mackenzie and his friends, will believe it to be the work of the other members. He is really one of those who shut their own eyes, and then think themselves concealed. I do not object to the appointment of Mackenzie. He had pretensions to it as having presided over the Customs which are now put under the Committee. I object only to the mode of the appointment.

We have reports here apparently very vague that Pitt was left in a minority in the Irish business, and that Fox and his party form the present administration. I sincerely hope this is not true; for though Pitt certainly is not spotless, Fox seems black all over.

I blush for my countrymen in Bengal when I tell you that few of them have signed the petitions to the three branches of the legislature. I admit with the advocates of the Bill that it has its merits, but these were necessary, and were perhaps intended to veil its blemishes. I do not myself dread the operation even of its worst clauses. I fear not a disclosure of my property, and would perhaps rather be tried by the new judicature than by a common jury. But who can tell us that the new judicature will always retain its present form? A new minister may probably prefer a single judge to twelve. We shall then in vain have recourse to the bulwark which we now basely desert. We shall be told that the trial of jury has been long since abolished, and that the intended alterations are not the creation of a new court but the modification of an old one.

To defeat the arguments of Mr. Macpherson and Price, which all went to convince men that the good parts of the Bill should reconcile them to the bad, and that they should swallow the Pill because it was gilded, I advised one of the members of the committee to propose a public acknowledgment of the good clauses, as well as a petition against the bad. He did propose it but the other members of the committee overruled it on the plea of its being unprecedented. In justice to my own feelings I signed the petition, though I kept out of the way of being in the committee not knowing how you might approve it.

I shall not pretend to develop the schemes of our present rulers, for no man is more totally unacquainted with them. The General, I am told, is desirous of visiting Lucknow and by several subordinate arrangements I think it probable not only that he has such an intention but that he will be permitted to execute it. The enclosed letter from Palmer I received before his arrival from Lucknow. He is now at Cossipoor and will no doubt write fully to you. He has taken his passage for England and expects to sail in January. Many are going home this year, those whose names I can recollect I will add—Rooke, Purling, Irwin, Charters, Dynely, Wilkins, Petrie, Cator, Alexander, Beeby, David Cumming, General Stibbert, Colonels Ironside and Morgan, Majors Browne, Maclean and Palmer. I have omitted Colonel Watson, who in his departure furnishes a striking proof of that selfishness which has marked his character during the whole of his residence here. You may remember how indecently, how madly violent he was against Pitt's Bill when we received the first and imperfect abstract of it. He said it was your duty as the first member of this society to oppose it—and all this to

prevent the disclosure of his property. He soon finds that he can get home early enough to evade that clause, and the Bill is in his mind a very good one. He will neither petition against it, nor subscribe a rupee for forwarding the petition. He is a very likely man to go home and inveigh against the rapacity and extravagance of Indians. You knew something of Davies the lawyer, I can assure you from my perfect knowledge of him that [he] is an able upright man—few people whom you have left here have manifested so high a veneration for your character, or so sincere an attachment to the cause of yourself and your friends. I own I tell you this to engage your attention to what I am going to say respecting him. He is next in succession to the office of Advocate General held by Sir John Day. Upon an application by Governor Johnson to the Court of Directors requesting that Maxwell should be appointed to the first vacant office of Council to the Company, it was opposed as it might eventually be a supercession; indeed it must be so if the vacancy should first happen in any but the lowest office. Sir John Day partly no doubt with a view to his own interest, and partly it is said to injure Davies, wanted to go home upon leave of absence for 2 years, and retaining the salary of his office to invest Gordon with the duties of it. Davies opposed this as injurious to him. The Board at length consented that Sir John Day should go home for 2 years for the recovery of his health, and that his office and its salary should devolve upon Davies. Davies hopes therefore you will, if possible, effect his confirmation in it, and guard him against supercession. I shall advance to the office vacated by Davies, and Gordon to mine.

By a Mr. Wagstaff, Mrs. Hay's brother, I send you about fifty seeds of the cinnamon tree. I have directed him to suspend them in a dry and airy part of the ship which as I recollect is the mode prescribed by yourself. A few of them have come up in our garden.

Soleyman Beauty and the buggy horse are all well—so are the Canary birds—Mrs. Hastings I am sure will be glad to hear this—pray present my respectful compliments to her and tell her that I shall send her muslin and pearls by the *Rodney* which will sail in November or the beginning of December and is a safer ship and a better sailer than the *Intelligence*, and will probably be at home almost as soon.

You will hear from Croftes, and will, I am sure, rejoice to find how little his mind is affected by his late misfortune. He has however no use of one side of his body, and is upon the whole a very miserable man. He thinks himself hardly treated by the present Government, and says he goes to Chittagong as if he were going to perpetual banishment.

Though November is now commenced this evening is as hot as ever

I remember one in Bengal—and increases if possible that desire which I always feel of being near you.

I have some abstracts of proceedings for you but for the reasons which I have mentioned above I shall send them by the *Rodney*.

I have the Honor to be,

Dear Sir,

Your obliged and grateful Servant,

G. N. THOMPSON.

Poor Elwarry has been within these 3 or 4 days turned out of his office of Naib of the Khalsa. I can believe he has been guilty of some offence, though perhaps not meriting dismission. I need not tell you that none of the Taalooks have been yet granted to your dependants; by Macpherson they never will be granted.

The Khurreeta I received from Bissummer Pundit, it contains letters from himself; his brother and Moodajee Boorlu.

The packet marked thus * is from Raja Govind Ram.

No. 11.

Thursday, 15th December 1785.

DEAR SIR,

The *Surprise's* packet was opened on Monday last, and infinite was the pleasure which it produced to all your friends—Major Scott's letter to me informed me of your safe arrival, your health, your distinguished reception and the honors which probably yet awaited you. Your good is in all its modifications the good of the public; and the bare report of the weight which you possess in England will I am convinced have a favourable effect on the councils of this government. It will impart to them a portion of that spirit which informed them whilst under your direction—and banish from them, if any thing can, the meanness, imbecility and selfishness which have lately so notoriously disgraced them. Kydd is going home. I will not compare his departure in consequence of yours to the Flight of Astrea because the allusion is trite and because I see no great similitude between England and heaven. But I believe he would not have gone if you had staid, or if, in your absence, he could have done anything for the public good. He has not only cried upon the house tops, but has invaded the secret chambers of the great, and something after the manner of Albony in Cecilia has told them truths which they would otherwise not have heard, and which if one risen from the dead had uttered to them they would not

have had grace to believe. To Kydd I refer you—he knows a little of what has lately passed, but I know absolutely nothing—nor do I regret it—I shall not burst in ignorance, and knowledge I am convinced would be pain. My office as Junior Council has lately found me full employment. Full ten days were we endeavouring to justify the conduct of Motte and Maxwell as joint Superintendants of the Police. We failed at last, and I hope you will attribute our ill-success to the qualities of those gentlemen rather than to those of Davies and myself. We have since been employed in convicting several men who for many years past have carried on the practice of opening the mails whilst on their way to the ship and stealing part of their contents. To-day is the first which I have not past in court for almost this month. On Monday next the trial of Ramchunder Sein, Gopee Nazir and others for a conspiracy against Praun Kishun Sing will commence, and as all the preparatory steps for the prosecution have principally rested with me, the business has already occupied most of my time and attention, and must from henceforth till its conclusion engross them wholly. Davies is Senior Council, nor can I in justice to my own feelings lose any occasion of bearing testimony to the zeal which he displays in the support of Ganga Govind Sing and his son, and to the attachment which he has invariably manifested to you. By the *Intelligence* packet I sent you the copy of a minute which I had prepared for Mr. Macpherson, containing a brief consideration of all the questions before the Board relative to the Dewan and his son together with his decision on them. He affected to admire it exceedingly, but has yet made no use of it.—Now that he sees the reception you have met with, he will perhaps venture to *commit* himself in favor of the Dewan so far as to declare what he has long professed to believe his innocence.

This will probably be delivered to you by Comyns—to whose care I have committed a trunk containing the saddle given to you by Almass Ally Khan.—It accompanied one of the mares, and though its intrinsic value is I fear inconsiderable, it is apparently a laborious and costly work, and may possibly be acceptable to you or some of your friends as a curiosity. In the same trunk I send a shield which some of the natives have told me is a very fine one and musquet proof. This property it owes I suppose rather to its shape than its substance. These and a few more such articles I brought back from the auction room whither they had been sent by Larkins. The sale of them would have produced but a trifle and was not I am convinced at all consonant to your feelings. The best of them shall by different conveyance be sent to you. To Comyns I have in full confidence of your approbation given a matchlock, two spears, and a very old sword. To Mr. Stables I have most unwillingly parted with a few articles. He would not take a refusal. Though I have never been within his doors but once since your departure

he came frequently to Alipoor; and, were not gross hypocrisy one of the most striking features of his character, one would have thought that he came for the melancholy pleasure of deploring your absence on the spot which had been most blessed with your presence. Every shrub reminded him of you—the very stocks and stones were eloquent, and prompted him to repeat as if only from their suggestions—"Alas! poor Hastings"—these were his very words—and it is from his lips alone perhaps that they could have given me pain. I made a virtue at length of necessity, and told him that I was certain I acted as you would do in letting him have any of the articles he wanted. He took two matchlocks (not the best)—an old saddle—3 spears, and a shield.

By Comyns I send you in another box 3 matchlocks—one of them beyond all comparison the handsomest of any you left behind you.

Kydd is gone and Comyns is going. I am afraid of being too late—and must therefore conclude.

I have the Honor to be,

Dear Sir,

Your most obliged and faithful Servant,

GEORGE NESBITT THOMPSON.

By Colonel Kydd I send you some seeds of your own Cinnamon tree. I send likewise some seeds which Captain Forrest brought from one of the Malacca Islands and has distributed through the settlement as the seeds of the cabbage tree—none have yet come up in the neighbourhood of Calcutta.

[*To be continued.*]

Reviews.

WARREN HASTINGS IN BENGAL 1772—1774. BY E.
MONCKTON JONES, OXFORD, 1918.

THE author in his preface modestly refers to certain disabilities to which a writer on the subject of his choice is exposed if he be "neither an Indian official nor in any way in direct contact with the life of India, but drawn to the subject merely by its inherent interest." The writer of a work such as the present one must be continually brought into contact with matters of a very technical nature, a knowledge of many necessary details of which is more easily and more thoroughly acquired in the practical work of a Civil Servant rather than in the study. While this is true, it is, on the other hand, a manifest advantage to have a book written in a style which is readily intelligible to those who have never been in India, and from which the technicalities and even the "*Hobson-Jobson*" into which an Anglo-Indian writer so readily drops are absent. In India a work of the present kind has been long needed, for many wildly false statements as to the history of the country are still current, and, apart from the dramatic scenes in Hastings' career, his great work as a patient and farseeing administrator has been studied by but a very small number. Mr. Monckton Jones' method of following up his chapters by select documents is just what was required. We would venture to ask the writer when he is preparing a second edition to weigh once again his statement as to "the effect of Plassey." We venture to think that the fact that the glorious careers of such men as Thomas Adams, Randfurlie Knox and others have almost passed out of memory is to be explained by the exaggerated estimate of the event of Plassey. On p. 65 Mr. Monckton Jones says of the Supervisors "none of them could have had more than three or four years' administrative experience." Surely this is rather too strong. As Verelst has been so severely contrasted with Richard Becher by Sir William Hunter, we think it ought to be said that the impression left on mind by a study of the Murshidabad records is that Becher was an amiable but not very strong administrator. He seems to have been yet another instance of the type of man who gains great credit by candour in exposing evils, but his method in so doing is a violent flagellation of the wrong horse. The correspondence of the Supervisors, when it is published will, without doubt, tend to show that Becher himself is to be blamed for the alleged failure of the experiment. The list of Supervisors given on p. 89, is incomplete

and inaccurate. "Chartres" on p. 292 is an error—a common one—for "Charters." We notice too that for the name of William Lushington in the index is given Henry Lushington—the latter being the youth who survived the Black-hole to perish in the massacre at Patna and whose memory is unpleasantly connected with the tricking of Amirchand. The Index which is remarkably good, refers to p. 27 for "Bycunpore, Baikanthpur," which is explained to be "a town in the Patna district." The reference is to No. 27 on p. 216, and refers to "Darrup Deo, the zamindar of Bycuntpore." The district is in reality Baikuntpur—old fashioned Bykuntpore—which once belonged to Rangpur but now to Jalpaiguri. There are some evidences of Hastings' activities which Mr. Monckton Jones might mention in another edition. In 1778, illustrating the saying that every great statesman is something of a geographer, Hastings sent Charles Chapman to explore the coast of Cochin China and penetrate as far inland as he could. This, of course, was at a date subsequent to that with which the present volume ends, and to a later period also belongs the journey of Samuel Turner in 1783 to Thibet, but Bogle's embassy to the Teshu Lama (1774-75) might have been mentioned. We venture to express the hope that Mr. Monckton Jones will be encouraged to undertake a similar volume on the period in which Hastings so splendidly proved to be the *mens aequa in arduis*, but should be elect to transfer his efforts to another field or remark, we shall remain grateful to him for a work which must convince every unprejudiced mind that, judged by the history of the years 1772-74 alone, Hastings not only has won a place in the very first rank of British statesmen, but deserves the love of the people of Bengal. The book is to be further commended on the score of two fine portraits. The first of these is the portrait presumably by Tilly Kettle, and presents us, as Mr. Monckton Jones thinks, with Hastings "about the age of 40," which would be about the date of his arrival in Bengal as Governor in 1772. As Kettle was in India from 1770 to 1774 the portrait may well be his work. Mr. Monckton Jones states that this painting was "inherited by Cortland MacGregor, Esq., from his ancestor John Stewart, Judge Advocate-General in Bengal in 1773." The other portrait gives us Hastings "about the age of 65," and is from the painting by Abbot. Our author states that it shows us Hastings "at approximately the date of his final return to England." Hastings was born on the 6th December 1732: he left Calcutta finally on February 1, 1785: so he cannot have been fifty-three years on the date of his arrival in England (13 June 1785). The Great Proconsul might almost be described as the best painted man in history for we have portraits of him by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Romney, Abbot, Devis, Kettle, Zoffany, Stubbs, Seton and Masquerier.

W. K. F.

A GUIDE TO TAXILA, BY SIR JOHN MARSHALL, K.T., C.I.E.,
MA., LIT., DOC., CALCUTTA, 1918.

We have received with the greatest pleasure a copy of Sir John Marshall's *Guide to Taxila*. Even to those of us who can never hope to enjoy the good fortune of visiting the remains of that once great city, the present guide is most interesting. It was not until 1863 that General Cunningham established the identity of the site some twenty miles to the north-west of Rawal Pindi with that of Taxila, and, until Sir John Marshall nearly five years ago was enabled to get to work at his remarkable series of excavations, the old city remained a prey to irresponsible treasure-seekers or to hap-hazard enthusiasts. We are at last able to re-construct the general plan of the city, and trace the influences of the seven different nations, the Persians, Macedonians, Mauryas, Bactrian Greeks, Scythians, Parthenians and Kushans, under whose dominion the city has passed. The reader of either this work, or Sir John's recent *Guide to Sanchi* will find his visits to the Indian Museum at Calcutta the more delightful. We have to be thankful that, despite the general stand-back due to this war, in one large branch of learning a great and necessary advance has been made.

Charles Croftes : A Friend of Warren Hastings.

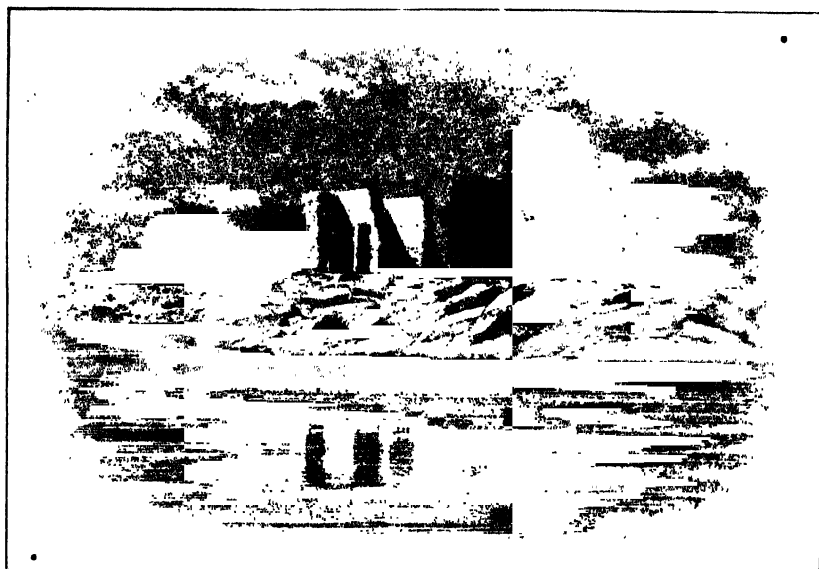
IN the picturesque cemetery at Chittagong there is, a monument to "Charles Croftes, died at Chittagong, 1786, aged 42." In the late C. R. Wilson's most defective *List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Bengal possessing Historical or Archæological Interest*, only one Chittagong inscription is given, *vis.*, that to Lieutenant W. Dickson, but the monument to Charles Croftes covers the remains of one of Warren Hastings' most intimate friends, and this alone should serve as a reason for its being maintained by the Government under the provisions of Lord Curzon's Act. The eleventh of the charges against Hastings at his trial was that in 1779 "he annulled the existing contract for the provision of bullocks and concluded another with his friend Charles Croftes, Esqr., upon wantonly extravagant terms." On this charge Hastings was found guilty by three, and acquitted by twenty-three of the judges, but the relationship between Croftes and Hastings was as the present article will show, one of intimacy.

In 1774 Croftes, formerly Accomptant to the Chief of Council at Murshidabad, was Sub-Treasurer at Fort William. In the year 1777 he held the post of Accountant-General to the Revenue Department an office not to be confounded (as is often done) with that of the Accountant-General. We find one reference to him in Grand's *Narrative* "While I remained in the family of Mr. Hastings I was in the habitude, with my friends Major Palmer and Gale, to make occasional excursions at the end of the week on the river. Our rendezvous generally was either at the lamented Mr. Croftes' plantation at Sooksaugur in which he had introduced the growth of the sugarcane, or at Ghyretty House, the residence of M. Chevalier, the Governor of the French settlement of Chandernagore." The mention of the sugarcane plantation reminds us that in addition to his work at the Revenue Department, Croftes contracted for the rum supplied to the Company's Marine Service. On July 15, 1783, we find the Agent to the Fleet seeking permission "to take over 600 leagues of rum from Mr. Croftes, having engaged to over all that could be made at Sooksaugur for the use of the Fleet." Sooksaugur (Sukhsagar), be it said, is, or was (for Warren Hastings' house at that place has long years ago subsided into the river) on the banks of the Hughli, a little above, and on the opposite side to, Bandel. The house and experimental cultivation grounds were perhaps

in origin Hastings,' and it seems to have been the favourite country-side retreat of "the elegant Marian;" but early in 1784 it seems to have become Croftes' property, for we find Hastings on his way to Sooksaugur writing: "Poor Croftes, with the gout in his head, is, in defiance of it and my entreaties, hurrying after me, to make my reception at his house most welcome and salutary." A little later on the Governor-General records: "I am, on the contrary, as well as I have been for many years, for when I landed at Sooksaugur on the 19th my health failed me, and my knees trembled with the walk to Croftes' bungalow." It may be mentioned that it was at Sooksaugur Edward Wheeler broke a blood-vessel and died on October 10th 1784.

In Hicky's *Bengal Gazette* (June 1781) Croftes appears as "Idle Charley, the Bankrupt merchant," but idle he can hardly have been if we consult the almost numberless letters in his hand to be found in the Mofussil collectorate offices. There cannot be the slightest doubt but that he was an exceedingly laborious and able revenue official. It is curious that in 1781 he should have been hit off by Hicky as a "bankrupt merchant," for his bankruptcy does not seem to have occurred till 1785, when it befell him in consequence of an unfortunate deal in muslins. The measure of Hastings' personal confidence in his poor gout-stricken friend may be judged from the fact that he selected him to be his wife's trustee in India. When Mrs. Hastings went home in 1784, it was arranged that no less than £5,000 should be paid to Captain Cooper of the *Atlas* for the accommodation of the Governor's wife and companions, and Croftes, who had charge of the negotiation, arranged that the Skipper should receive as payment "muzzlins" of his manufacture, on the consideration that as no commission would be charged thereon, the worthy captain would make a further profit of 25 per cent. on the bargain. The "muzzlins" sold for less than £600 of the sum originally fixed, and when Captain Cooper applied for compensation, Croftes was on the verge of bankruptcy!

Hastings left Calcutta finally on February 1, 1785. On September 9 of that year Croftes was appointed Chief and Collector of Chittagong. Sir H. J. S. Cotton, in his *Memorandum on the Revenue History of Chittagong*, records: "It would seem that he was failing in health and resigned his Calcutta offices and endowments of his own accord in order to obtain a transfer to a settlement of established reputation. By a special order, dated 9th November, 1785, his own physician, Mr. John Williams, was permitted to accompany him to Chittagong on the salary of an assistant surgeon. Mr. Croftes must, however, have been a great pecuniary loser by the transfer." Sir H. J. S. Cotton did not know of Croftes' bankruptcy as a private merchant. Nemesis followed Croftes to Chittagong. Sir H. J. S. Cotton



SOOKSAGUR RUINS.
(From Colesworthy Grant's *Rural Life in Bengal*)



SOOKSAGUR HOUSE.
(From Colesworthy Grant's *Rural Life in Bengal*)

goes on to say: "There was also another considerable inconvenience attaching to the Chittagong appointment at the period. I find that for three consecutive years at least, from 1783 to 1786, the exigencies of Government at the Presidency were so great as to require the immediate monthly remittance of the whole balance of cash in the treasury after receiving sufficient for the payment of the troops and for drafts in favour of the Revenue Committee. All other payments were suspended; not even salaries could be paid. Mr. Croftes, who had joined with other members of the Revenue Committee in issuing these instructions in 1783, when Mr. Irwin was Collector, was compelled to remonstrate against them in 1786, when he was himself a victim to their operation." It is not often that highly placed officials, after having enjoyed the exhilarating delights of taking bird's eye views of the world beneath them, have the further privilege of taking a worm's eye view—but that was the privilege which befell Charles Croftes.

At Chittagong, Croftes had the honour to entertain at his house Sir William and Lady Jones. He completed the revenue settlement for the year 1786-1787. Sir H. J. S. Cotton writes:—"The character of Mr. Croftes' work is laborious and conscientious although it is not altogether such as might have been expected from his experience and his own ability. His letters are a marvel of circumlocution, and his deference to authority and respect for the Revenue Committee are remarkable even in an age when official self-abnegation and abasement were more practised than they are in the correspondence of modern times. It was doubtless his bad health that affected the outturn of his work. He died at Chittagong on the 12th of September (1786), just a twelve month after his appointment."

It will be interesting to notice the fate of that old house at Sooksagar where Hastings and his wife had so often resided. A wood-cut picture of the house will be found in Colesworthy Grant's *Rural Life in Bengal*, and Grant tells that "it was built by Warren Hastings as a country residence for himself and three other civilians, and for the purpose of their having an English farm where experiments in the growth of coffee and other products of that nature could be tried." Forbes in his *Oriental Researches* says "that it was an elegant house of European architecture, highly finished, and the grounds disposed with great taste." The name Sooksagar ("dream of delight") is probably derived from an ornamental tank in the neighbourhood constructed by some wealthy Mahomedan native. The property fell into the hands of the wealthy merchant Joseph Barretto, who is said to have lived there "like a prince," and to have erected a chapel, which his successor, M. Lauruletta, "noted for his hospitality and sporting propensities, converted into an abode for mahouts and fighting cocks." In 1792

the sugarcane plantation and rum factory were still flourishing, and we are told that the place was styled "Chota Calcutta." Some sombre verses on the house as it stood in 1829,

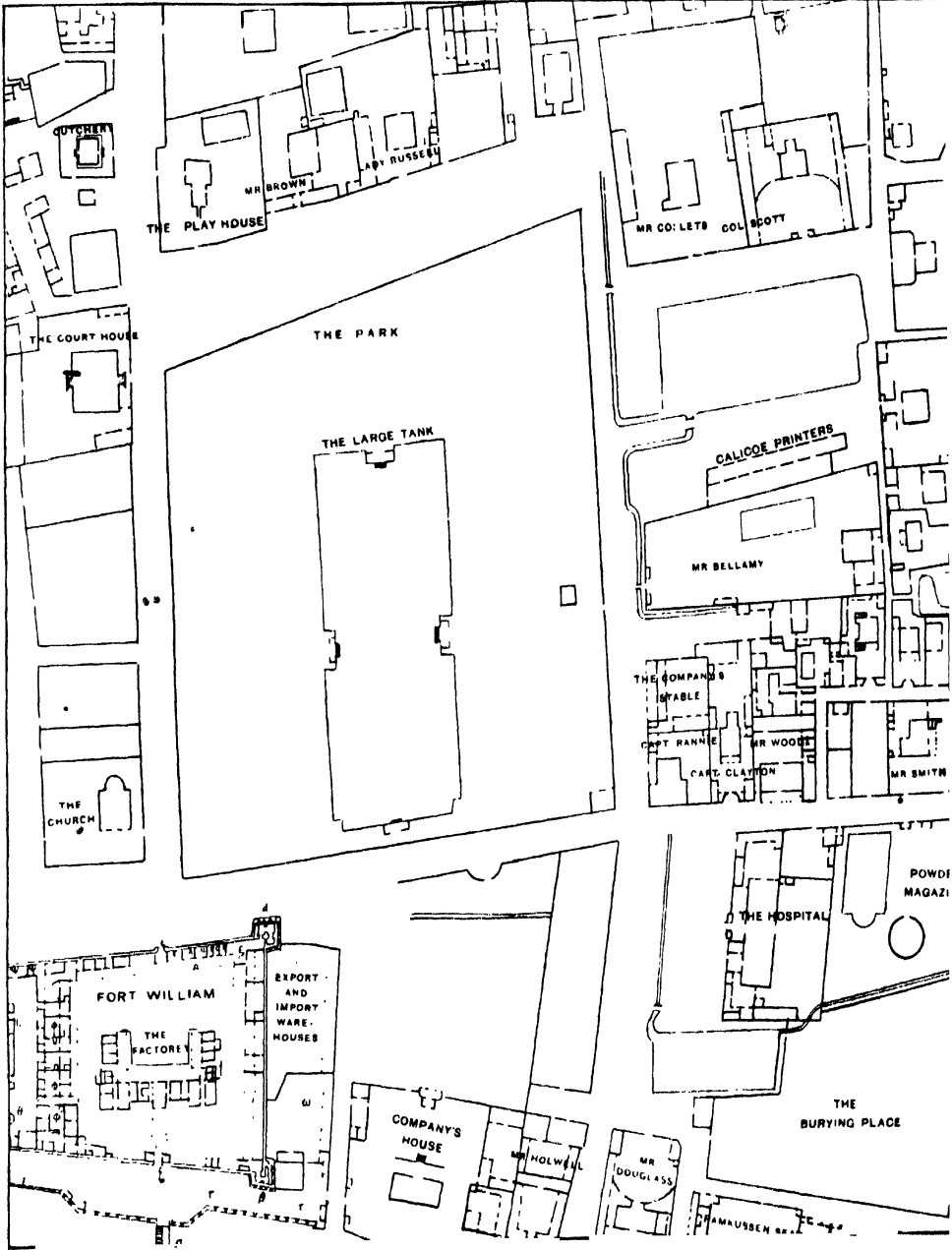
Silent deserted and sad

Where the dark tangled grass hides the

Serpents that hiss

And the jackals alone are now glad,

have often been quoted.



Section of William Wells' Plan of Calcutta, 1753.

Leaves from the Editor's Note-Book.

IN the Oct.-Dec. number for 1917, I wrote "owing to the circumstances created by the War the finances of the society are not in a prosperous condition," and I ventured to remark that a comparatively small sum of Rs. 2,000 "would suffice to restore *Bengal : Past & Present* to something like its former condition in amount of materials and illustrations." I have now to acknowledge with the most sincere thanks the receipt of the under-mentioned donations for the support of *Bengal : Past & Present* :—

	Rs.
The Right Hon. Earl Curzon of Kedleston	... 200
Anon	... 200
The Most Rev. the Lord Bishop of Calcutta	... 100
T. Swan, Esq.	... 100
	<hr/>
Total	... 600
	<hr/>

When after rather more than a year of abeyance, the Calcutta Historical Society revived its energies in the year 1914, one of our earliest and most enthusiastic supporters declined to renew his support on the ground that he supposed that in the seven big volumes of *Bengal : Past & Present* already issued the subject of Old Calcutta must have been exhausted. That so far from this assumption being true, and that we are yet still almost in the infancy of our research, I think, can be shown by the following instance. If you turn to any of the plans of Calcutta dating back to the year 1756, you will find that what is *par excellence* the "High Street" of our modern city is not in existence. Let us glance at the accompanying reproduction of a plan, which belong to the year 1756. The Court House shows us the spot on which St. Andrew's Church now stands. Suppose then we imagine ourselves starting from the doors of the Court House one cold-weather morning in the year 1756. The long row of houses between the east-western of what is Mission Row have not been built, and what is now the western side of Mission Row faces direct towards the Great Tank. Between the road leading southward and the Tank there is what is known as "the Park," and the alignment of the road is very different from that of the road on the east side of the present Dalhousie Square, much of the present road having since

1756 been taken out of the Park. When we have got to the point at which to-day we should find Mango Lane to our left, we find the go-downs of Mr. Collet's house immediately in front of us, and if we wish to find our way to the Maidan we must make a short turn to the right along the south side of the Park, and then, turning to the left, skirt a big tank which covers much of the present site of the General Telegraph Office and last of all turning up a small lane leading southwards come to the Creek, which flowing up what is now Hastings Street and Government Place North, separates the town of Calcutta from the country. If we turn now to Upjohn's Map of 1792 we find Court House Street in full existence. At what date was that great street made? By what authority? Whence came the funds for its construction? That we can at present give no answers to these questions is surely a proof that so far we have not made much progress in the attempt to recover the history of Calcutta in the building.

It is curious to notice how little there is to be found in the old leases which have recently been under review in our pages to enlighten us about the construction of Old Court House Street—a little, I mean, in contrast to the much which may be learned about Chouringhi, Garden Reach, or Lal Bazar. In 1788 we find Richard Johnson, that great Calcutta land-owner, selling to Thomas Henry Davies (the Advocate-General) for Sa. Rs. 45,000 an house “to the eastward of the great road leading from the Old Court House to the Esplanade—and on the south by the great road running east or west with the Esplanade?” Here we have an indication of what was till quite recently “Scott Thomson's Corner” and is now Esplanade Buildings, but I think that the earliest reference to Court House Street is in connection with a property known as “Gokul Gosaul's Bansa Bary,” stated [No. 551] to be “in Dhee Calcutta on the high road leading from the Court House to Surman's Bridge. In lease No. 553, dated December, 1783, the Bansa Bary is said to be “on that high road leading southerly from the Old Court House to the Esplanade.” The Bansa Bary must have occupied Scott Thomson's Corner, for it is said to be bounded “on the south by the street leading from Dhee Calcutta to Durramtollah.” We are thus carried back to 1783 as the latest possible date for the construction of Old Court House Street.

In regard to the side of Old Court House Street from the Telegraph Buildings to Larkins' Lane, the materials for the history of Old Court House Street are abundant. In a house at the corner facing the Great Tank on the west and the street, old Tulloch the auctioneer, (said to be the original of the

Judas in Zoffany's Altar-Piece at St. John's) once did his business. Next to him, on the south, was the Hindustan Bank; and where now is Messrs. Bathgate's place of business was a house belonging to John Prinsep, who was in all probability the builder of the houses in this part of the town. When Government purchased the property now occupied by the Telegraph Department, Messrs. Burkinyoung, F. C. Osler, and Mackillop, Stewart & Co., were in possession respectively of the properties once held by Tullah, the Hindustan Bank, and John Prinsep. A relative who was once kind enough to tell me that I possessed psychic powers of an advanced nature, was good enough to encourage me that I need have no fear if I should chance to find myself walking one dark night through a stone-wall. The stone-wall through which I at present cannot work my way is that of Mr. Collet's godowns in 1756. In other words I cannot at present discover when Mr. Collet's house was pulled down, and a straight road made from the Old Court House to the Esplanade. I have, however, started out to show that we still know but very little, of the story of Calcutta in the building, and, of course, if this be so, there is an enormous field for research open to the Society. In the old deeds of the Bengal Club, the United Service Club, the Great Eastern Hotel, Messrs. James Finlay, Messrs. Bathgate & Co., Messrs. Smith Stanistreet & Co., Messrs. Hamilton & Co., to mention no others, a rich harvest of knowledge would be realised. It is a long and arduous journey to Gaur or Panduah, but there are materials for an entertaining holiday close to hand in nearly every land-owner's strong box.

On pages 116 and 17 of Vol. XIV, I referred to Charlotte Webb, the youngest sister of Mrs. W. M. Thackeray of 'Sylhet,' Mrs. Peter Moore, and Mrs. Thomas Evans. The reference made in her mother's letter to "a sham marriage" suggests that Thackeray may have derived the idea of the plot of *Philip* from this sad page in the family history. I find from Mr. T. A. Venkaswamy Row's *Indian Decisions (Old Series)*, Vol. I, page 1045 that on July 7th 1781, Mr. Newman, the Advocate-General, moved the Supreme Court "to grant the custody of Miss Charlotte Webb, a lunatic, and the care of her fortunes, to her brother-in-law, Mr. Evans." "He produced the affidavits of two Surgeons in the Company's service, and he moved under clause XXV of the charter empowering the Court to appoint guardians for infants and lunatics." The Court "took nothing," since, although they had no doubt of the madness of the unfortunate lady, they were agreed that the custody ought to have been sought for on *petition*, and they doubted "whether the court could determine on her madness by inspection alone, or whether there must also be an inquiry by a Jury before the Sheriff." **Alas! Poor lunatic!**

In the "Nesbitt Thompson Papers" we have reference to "Grant the informer." Who was this person? On page 154 of the recently published second volume of the *Memoirs of William Hickey*, we read :—

"Another of the duels was between my friends, Robert Pott and James Grant, Pott being a staunch Hastingsite, while Grant was equally zealous on the part of Clavering. These youngmen had therefore been intimate friends, but during the contest for Government, Pott charged Grant with duplicity and with acting the base part of an informer, divulging opinions that had been delivered in confidence and privacy. Grant thereupon challenged Pott. They met, when after exchanging several shots, Pott wounded his adversary in the leg, and the matter ended, but Grant was even after distinguished from many of the same by the title of 'Informer Grant.' " —

In my "Leaves," Vol. XIV, page 303, I have shown that the James Grant, so famous for his contribution to the *Fifth Report of 1812* was not appointed to the service till May 1778, so while he may be "Grant the Philosopher," he cannot be "Grant the informer." The latter, Hickey's friend, left Bengal in disgrace in 1776, and we find him in England in 1780 engaged as "a West India merchant in partnership with his elder brother, Peter." Hickey, by the way, has a tale to tell of the sordid treatment dealt out to him by his old friend. In 1780 this James Grant was appointed a senior merchant of Honourable East India Company, and so I suppose returned to Bengal.

It is with deep regret that I record the death of Mr. Bijay Kissor Acharyya, who was so distinguished an ornament of the Indian Christian community in Calcutta. In his Tagore Law Lectures for 1912, Mr. Acharyya dealt with the subject of codification in British India. The lectures though primarily intended for law students are of great value also to historical students, for the lecturer deals with his subject from a historical point of view, and makes use of materials which have been little studied by English historians. I would take this opportunity of acknowledging my due personal debt to Mr. Acharyya for most generous assistance rendered me when I was working at the Hyde Note-books. R. I. P.

In his valuable article on European place names in India, Lieutenant-Colonel D. G. Crawford wrote (*Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. III, page 10):—
"Cox's Bazar was named after Captain Hiram Cox, who was sent on a mission to the court of Ava by Lord Amherst about 1820 shortly before the first

Burmese war. He wrote an account of this mission, published in London in 1821, under the title *Journal of a Residence in the Burman Empire and more particularly at the Court of Amarapoorah.* Turning to Mr. W. L. O'Malley's *District Gazetteer of Chittagong*, I find it stated: "the town is named after Lieutenant Cox, who died here in 1798 after he had established a colony of Maghs, who sought shelter in British territory after the conquest of Arakan by the Burmese." Mr. Kiran Nath Dhar has been at pains to go into the matter on my behalf, and he calls my attention to the following notification in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 15th August 1799:—

Deaths.—At Chittagong, on the 2nd instant, Captain Hiram Cox of a fever with which he was attacked at Rummo, while on a deputation from Government to settle some affairs with the Burmans in the district."

Mr. Dhar has also looked up the *Journal of a Mission*, and he reports that it was brought out in 1821 by the author's son, Harry C. M. Cox, who states that his father died at the age of 39. The *General Military Register* (Calcutta, 1795) gives the following statement as to Hiram Cox's career:—

Cadet	...	...	14th September	1779
Ensign	...	...	18th "	1780
Lieutenant	...	...	29th May	1781
Resigned	...	...	22nd December	1788
Re-admitted	...	...		1791
Captain	...	...		1798
Died	...	...	2nd August	1799

The Second Volume of the *Memoirs of William Hickey* is now to hand, and fully justifies the expectations expressed in my last "Leaves." The confessions of vice and dissipation are alas! as prolific as ever, and are not a wit the more pardonable because Hickey, like so many of his race, had "a way with him," and his female relations thought that Hickey was more "vastly agreeable" when drunk than when sober. The *Bengal Obituary* preserves an inscription on the grave of the "darling girl" of the *Memoirs*.

To the Memory of

MRS. CHARLOTTE HICKEY,

Wife of Wm. Hickey, Esq.,

Who died the 25th December 1783,

Aged 21 years, 10 months and 10 days,

leaving a truly disconsolate husband,

bitterly and incessantly to deplore the loss of her.

There are those for whom "ills have no weight and tears no bitterness."

The form which bitter sorrow takes with Hickey is to record in his *Memoirs* that the beloved one had been the mistress of his friend the mad Captain Mordaunt, and that the poor girl, fearing Hickey's remorse, should he grow weary or disappointed, had declined his offer of lawful marriage. Hickey was a hero in an age when the idea of honour was satisfied by a capital H or one or two duels. Honour on Hickey's case was not associated with paying one's own debts, but in the most foolish way rendering oneself responsible for the bad debts of unworthy friends. The present writer has come across an instance of Hickey's sharp and decisive way of repudiating a really binding obligation—but there is nothing in the *Memoirs* on this head. Well! I will not say anything more on the subject of the almost total absence of conscience from the *Memoirs*. Hickey may be trusted to act as his own hangman. Let us come to what he has to tell us about old Calcutta.

I do not think that Hickey's remarks on the Nanda Kumar case are of much original value. He arrived in Calcutta on November 1st 1777: the Nanda Kumar Trial took place from the eighth to the sixteenth, of June 1775. Hickey states that Chambers declared the verdict to be wrong, but "from his natural frivolity and want of firmness he allowed the influence the Chief Justice had over him to operate so far as to subscribe his name to the death warrant as with those of the other Judges." This statement serves to show that the writer had not a very accurate knowledge of what took place at the Nanda Kumar Trial. Chambers' objection was not to the *verdict*, but to the *indictment*, as he was in doubt whether the Act (2 Geo. II) making forgery a capital felony was in force in Bengal. It would appear that after stating the objection to the indictment, he gave way to the opinion given by his brethren on bench. The idea that Chambers did not concur in the verdict was naturally enough from his objection to the indictment. Natural frivolity cannot be happy description of Chambers: but "want of firmness" suits very well the man whom J. A. Hicky hit off as "Sir Viner Pliant." Hickey tells us that the several of the gentlemen who had served on the Jury "would have sooner starved than consented to, had they entertained the most distant idea of the execution following such a verdict." This may well be believed, but the assertion is more flattering to their hearts than to their intellects. Hickey as a lawyer ought to have known that any reluctance on the part of a Jury, on grounds of pity to bring in a verdict of guilty tends to confirm the belief that the act for which the accused was condemned was proved by the evidence.

Perhaps the most interesting thing in the book, from a Calcutta point of view, is the picture we have of Colonel Henry Watson and his great enterprize

at Watgunge. This, however, is a subject which we must reserve for a future occasion. We read with interest that Mr. James Agg was one of Hickey's companions on the outward voyage of the *Sea-horse* in 1779, for Agg was none other but the engineer who designed and built St. John's Church. Hickey tells us: "Mr. Agg was, some years after he arrived in Bengal, appointed an Engineer officer, in which corps he rose to the rank of Captain, when he quitted the service and returned to Europe with a handsome fortune. Soon after he reached England the Court of Directors offered him the situation of Lieutenant-Governor of Saint Helena which he declined accepting." Among his voyage-companions was "Mr. James Blacquiere, superintendent of piece goods, a son of his of thirteen, William Coates Blacquiere," the latter a famous person in Calcutta History. We note too on this voyage on the *Sea-horse*, E. Wheler, Mrs. Wheler, and the lady (Miss. Durnford) who was to become the second Mrs. Wheler as well as Richard Tilghman, then a barrister and brother-in-law of Sir Phillip Francis, and Robert Morse a barrister, Mr. George Dallas (afterwards a baronet), John Martin Playdell, John Guichard Booth, Major Lewis Mesmayer (Engineer), Captain Jas. Dickson, and the great Lt.-Col. H. Watson. The names of the Surgeons of the ship are worth noting—James Laird, Humprey Howorth and Cleveland. The latter may have been a relation to the Augustus Cleveland, whose heroic career as Collector of Bhagalpur is known to fame, although it has so far found no historian. The spelling of Cleveland for Clevland is very common. After leaving Col. Watson's hospitable home at Garden Reach, Hickey and Cleveland chummed together in a house "delightfully situated upon the Esplanade, open to the southward and eastward, and commanding an extensive view up and down the river, to which it was close." Needless to say, this house must have been on the site now covered by the Bank of Bengal. Hickey adds: "It belonged to Mrs. Ogden, the widow of a pilot then recently dead, who had left her this house with other property. The only reasonable objection that could be made was its being *cutcha*, that is, built with mud instead of mortar. Formerly the greater part of the buildings in Bengal were of that description, whereas there is now hardly one to be seen throughout Calcutta, being replaced by well constructed solid masonry. For the house we agreed to pay 300 sicca rupees, or £37 10s. a month. Pott exclaimed upon entering it in its unfinished state, and undertook to get it put into a proper condition for us, which he did at an expense of nearly one thousand pounds." For this house the reader may refer to No. 1504 of my article No. II on Calcutta Streets and Houses in *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV.

The reader who is still interested in Madam Grand will find in these *Memoirs* some points of information to fill in silences in Dr. Busteed's *Echoes*.

Colonel Ironside's *jeu d'esprit* may perhaps give a death blow to chivalrous attempts to apologise for the fair lady, but Hickey only serves to confirm us in the belief that Grand was a merchant in what every honest man would consider as his shame.

The most important public event with which Hickey was connected was the famous Touchet petition against the Supreme Court. On this subject I must remain silent, for Messrs. Cambray & Co., in a most laudable spirit of public zeal, are about to publish a reprint of the Report of the Committee of Parliament on the Touchet petition, and I have somewhat rashly pledged myself to furnish an introduction. In this place I need only say that I believe the Touchet with whom the petition is associated was a young barrister in England, and both Busteed and Sir J. F. Stephen were in error when they connected the petition with Samuel Touchet the Juror in the Nanda Kumar case. The name connected with the petition is John, not Samuel Touchet.

Hickey's friend Bobb Pott was, I surmise, Robert Percival Pott. We are told of Pott's endeavours to bring out to India with him his mistress Emily Warren. Hickey tells us that Sir Joshua Reynolds, who had "painted Emily's portrait many times and in different characters," declared "every limb of hers perfect in symmetry, and altogether he had never seen so faultless and finely formed human figure." Probably Pott's infatuation did not long survive his parting with Emily Warren in 1780. In 1788 he married at Berhampur Miss. Sally Cruttenden, (*Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 502). Of Pott's duel with "Grant the informer" mention has already been made. Of Alexander Higginson and his connection in Massachusetts something was recorded in *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. XII, p. 106, and his marriage with Miss Martha Isaacs, recorded on p. 507, Vol. IV. From Hickey we learn that Miss Martha Isaacs* was a young Jewess, who came out to Calcutta in 1777 to follow the profession of a miniature painter. We find a Mr. John Pascal Larkins mentioned as second officer of the *Nassau* in 1779, and in command of the *Warren Hastings* in 1780. It seems reasonable to surmise that this Sea-Captain is the father of John Pascal Larkins, B. C. S., who, as Provincial Grand Master of Bengal, laid the foundation stone of the Custom House on February 12, 1819, that of St. Peter's Church, Fort William on July 24 1822, and that of the Sanskrit College on 25 February, 1824. Captain J. P. Larkins was, I believe, the brother of

* The St. John's Baptismal Register shows the baptism of Martha Isaacs, "a person of rifer year" on 1 July, 1779.

William Larkins, Accomptant-General in the days of Warren Hastings and Cornwallis, and from whom Larkins' Lane notes its name. The references to Commodore Richardson, Mrs. Fay's friend, are of interest. Tiretta makes an appearance, and we hear once more his marvellous mixture of the English, French, Portuguese, Hindustani and presumably Indian, and we read again of the full trimmed suit of velvet in which he was wont to appear annually at the Governor's ball on the King's birthday. Of the founder of Indian Journalism, the truculent and unfortunate James Augustus Hicky, we learn that his art as a printer was acquired from the reading of a book during the period of his imprisonment, and that he practised as physician, surgeon and apothecary as well as a printer. Hickey fell in with Thomas Hickey, the portrait painter at Lisbon, but it does not appear that the two Hickeys were relations. At Lisbon too Hickey became acquainted with Louis Baretto.

On the very first page of my "Leaves" in the first volume of *Bengal : Past & Present*, (1907) I spoke in high praise of Mr. C. E. Buckland's *Dictionary of Indian Biography*. In so doing I pointed out that a work of the kind must pass through a series of revised editions in order that the advantages of criticism and suggestion from a wide-spread public may be turned to profit. I suggested that the then but recently founded Calcutta Historical Society might from time to time issue brief biographical notices on slip forms capable of being conveniently inserted between the pages of Mr. Buckland's *Dictionary*. This proposal has not been adopted. In the meanwhile materials for producing either a new edition or else a new *Dictionary* have been increasing. A survey of Mr. William Foster's *Factory Records* and Sir. Richard Temple's edition of *Streynsham Master* will at once reveal many names which should not be forgotten. The fifteen completed volumes of *Bengal : Past & Present* constitute a very rich treasury of biographical materials, but until the consolidated index for Vols. IX to XV has been drawn up and issued the reader must remain at a great disadvantage. I propose to give here a first trial list of persons whose careers I venture to think should be recorded in a future edition of the *Dictionary*, and I hope it may be possible to publish trial biographical notices of these persons either in *Bengal : Past & Present* or in a separate publication. I shall avoid mentioning the names of living persons or those who have died in quite recent years.

Agg, Aldersey William.
Alexander, James.
Amyatt, (Captain) James.

Baretto, Joseph.
Batson, Stanlake.
Barwell, William.

- Bayley, Henry Vincent.
 Becher John Harman.
 Bellamy, Rev. Gervase.
 Beveridge, Henry.
 Bie, (Colonel) Ole.
 Blacquiére, William Coates.
 Blunt, Sir Charles W.
 Boughton, Gabriel.
 Bouchier, Richard.
 Bristow, Amelia.
 Bristow, John.
 Brohier, Captain John.
 Brooke, William Augustus.
 Brooke, Thomas.
 Broome, Captain Arthur.
 Bryce, Rev. Dr. James.
 Burke, William.
 Burney, Richard.
 Carew, The Most Rev. Patrick Joseph.
 Camac, William.
 Carey, Rev. Wm., The Younger.
 Carstairs, (Captain) Peter.
 Chambers, William.
 Chapman, Charles.
 Chauvet, John Lewis.
 Chevalier, Jean Baptiste.
 Clayton, Thomas William.
 Cockerell, Charles.
 Colebrooke, Sir James; Edward.
 Colvin, Alexander.
 Compton, Sir Herbert.
 Cox, Hiram.
 Creighton, Henry.
 Croftes, Charles.
 Culling-Smith, J.
 Dacres, John Milner.
 Dall, Rev. C. H. A.
 Davies, Henry Thomas.
 Day, Sir John.
 De Koros, Cosma.
 Ducarel, George Gustavius.
- Dunkin, Sir James.
 Ellerker, (Major-General) Edward.
 Elliot, Alexander Kynynmond.
 Emin, Joseph.
 Endle, The Rev.
 Evans, Right Rev. John.
 Eyre, Sir Charles.
 Feake, Samuel.
 Fergusson, Robert Cutler.
 Floyer, Charles.
 Fortnom, (Colonel) John.
 Frankland, Henry.
 Frankland, William.
 Fullarton, William.
 Galiez, Primrose.
 Gardner, Hon. Edward.
 Graham, John.
 Greenlaw, Charles Beckett.
 Gyfford, Katherine.
 Gyfford, William.
 Hall, Colonel Francis.
 Hare, John.
 Hastings, The Hon. Capt. Edward
 Plantagenet Robinhood.
 Hay, Edward.
 Hearsey, Lieut.-Col. Andrew Wilson.
 Imhoff, Sir Charles.
 Ironside, (Colonel) Gilbert.
 Jenkins, Major-General Francis.
 Johnson, Richard.
 Johnson, Rev. William.
 Jones, William (Guru Jones).
 Keir, Archibald.
 Knox, Major Ranfurly.
 Knight, Robert.
 Lacam, Benjamin.
 Larkins, John Pascal.
 Larkins, William.
 Law, Thomas.
 Ledlie, Robert.
 Lemaistre, (Justice) Stephen Caesar.

Lewin, Lieut.-Col. T. H.	Showers, Charles Lionel.
Lushington, Henry.	Stackhouse, John.
McCabe, Robert Blair.	Stanhope, Philip Dormer.
Macleane, (Colonel) Laughlin.	Stephenson, (Governor) Edward.
Macpherson, (Colonel) Allan.	Sterndale, Reginald Cranfuird.
Mac Intosh, William.	Stibbert, (Brig.-Genl.) Giles.
Mackay, Capt. William.	Stocqueler, Joachim Hayward.
Madge, Elliot Walter.	Stuart, The Hon. Charles.
Middleton, Samuel.	Surman, John.
Moffat, James.	Swinton, Archibald.
Moore, Peter.	Sykes, Sir Francis.
Motte, Thomas.	Thomason, The Rev. Thomas
Nesbitt-Thompson George.	Truebody.
Newman, Charles.	Thomson, Mowbray.
Obeck, John.	Tiretta, Edward.
Ochterlony, James.	Toone, (Colonel) Sweney.
O'Donnell, John.	Turnbull, George.
Owen, Rev. John.	Twining, William.
Plaisted, Bartholomew.	Tytler, John.
Playdell, Charles Stafford.	Udney, William.
Pote, Edward Ephraim.	Upjohn, Aaron.
Price, Capt. Joseph.	Vansittart, George.
Rausch, John.	Vansittart Henry.
Renault, Pierie Mathieu.	Wake, Harewold Crawford.
Revel, Henry.	Ward, The Rev. James.
Richardson, (Comodore) William.	Weltden, Anthony.
Robson, Charles Knowles.	Westland, Sir James.
Sealy, Charles.	Wilford, (Colonel) Francis.
Shakespeare, Colin.	Williams, Capt. John.
Shakespear, John (Chief at Dacca).	Williamson, George.

Biographical information concerning Bengal Civil Servants prior to the year 1800 is usually so very difficult to obtain, that I believe it will be useful to print in this place a list of "the Magistrates of the several districts appointed Justices of the Peace under Commissions made patent under the seal of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William. —Signed "Sir Robert Chambers, Knight, Chief Justice, the 4th February in the thirty-fourth year of our reign," *i.e.*, 1794:—

Sir John Richardson, Bart.	...	... Calcutta.
Joseph Bernard Smith	...	... „

Ebenezer Jessup	...	...	Calcutta.
Charles Fuller Marley	...	...	"
Thomas Harding	...	...	"
Levi Ball	...	...	"
Burrish Crisp	...	Of the city of	Dacca.
Edward Eyne Burges	...	"	Murshidabad.
Henry Douglas	...	"	Patna.
John Lumsden	...	Of the zilla of	Burdwan.
Thomas Brooke	...	"	Birbhum.
Archibald Seton	...	"	Bihar.
Edward Colebrooke	...	"	Chittagong.
John Fombelle	...	"	Bhagulpur.
John David Paterson	...	...	Dacca.
William Wilkinson	...	...	Dinajpur.
Cosby Burrows	...	...	Jessore.
John Fendall	...	...	Midnapore.
Walter McGuire	...	...	Mymensingh.
John Edward Harington, Bart.	...	Of the city of	Murshidabad.
Richard Rorke	...	"	Nadia.
John Champain	...	...	24-Pergunnahs.
Shearman Bird	...	...	Purneah.
James Grant	...	...	Rajshahi.
William Hunter	...	...	Ramghur.
Matthew Leslie	...	...	Rungpore.
John Lewis Chauvet	...	...	Shahabad.
Charles Boddam	...	...	Saran.
Henry Lodge	...	...	Sylhet.
William Camac	...	...	Tipperah.
Samuel Middleton	...	...	Backergunge.
Hon. Charles Andrew Bruce	...	...	Cooch Behar.

In giving judgment in the Martin case in 1836, Mr. Justice Malkin said : "There might, indeed, in that case, be a speculative and principal question between the rights of the King of England and of the Mogul sovereign ; but that is not a question which could ever be entertained by a Court under the King's Charter, or the functionaries acting under a Government created by the authority of Parliament." The Chief Justice, Sir E. Ryan, in his judgment, made use of some words which any student of the conflict between the Supreme Court and the Council in Hastings' day will admit to be remarkable :—

"From the period of the grant in 1765 of the Dewanny of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, including the administration of the public revenue and civil justice, with the whole of the powers exercised by the Mogul constitution, it may be said that these provinces became the territories of the King of England, on the principles laid down by Lord Tenderden in *Doe on the Claims of Thomas v. Acklam*, that a relinquishment by a Government of the territory is a relinquishment of authority over the inhabitants of that territory. From this period, as has been accurately stated by the late Mr. Harrington (*sic*), a most distinguished civil servant, and at the time the Chief Judge of the Sudder Dewanny, the civil and military power of the country with the resources for maintaining it were transferred to the East India Company, and through their means to the British Empire. It is true, that it was not till 1772 that the Company themselves stood forth as Dewan; but in that year, in consequence of orders from the Court of Directors, the office of Naib Dewan was abolished, and the internal government of the provinces was committed to British Agency. In 1773 the British Parliament, after a long and laborious investigation into the whole state and condition of these provinces, passed an act by which they regulated and provided for the whole civil and military government of this presidency, and empowered the King to grant a charter for the establishment of a court here, having, as to British subjects, jurisdiction throughout these provinces. The King, by the Charter granted in the following year, created the Judges of this Court, justices and conservators of the peace throughout Bengal, Behar and Orissa. The writs issued by the court were to be in the King's name, and the Sheriff was empowered to execute these writs throughout the Provinces. Whatever may be said of the time anterior to this as to the empyrean sovereignty of the Mogul, brought down, as Sir Walter Scott observed in 1800, from the clouds, as it were for purposes of policy, and which hardly existed otherwise than as a phantom, I am of opinion, that from this period at least, the territorial acquisitions of the Company in India, though permitted to remain in the possession, and under the Government of the United Company, were part and parcel of the dominions of the King of England."

On this basis, the Chief Justice, said :—

"It will be exceedingly difficult to find any satisfactory reason for saying that after that period an alien could acquire a permanent property in land in the mofussil on the general principle stated by Blackstone, that if he could he must owe allegiance equally permanent with that property to the King of England, which would be inconsistent with that due to his own liege lord. I cannot see any solid grounds upon which in this state of things it can be said that the laws of alienage extends to Calcutta and not to the provinces."

Having cited the opinion of Sir Fletcher Norton, the Chief Justice said: "In all cases of conquest the previous aliens became subjects of the Crown, and of course are virtually naturalized by the act and operation of law. Upon this view of the subject, it does seem to me clearly established that aliens cannot hold lands in the mofussil."

WALTER K. FIRMINGER.

Marriages in Bengal, 1786—1792.

(ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.)

THE marriage entries for the years 1713—1754, appeared in Vol. IX, for 1759—1779 in Vol. IV, and 1780—1785 in Vol. VII. The present entries were copied by me. The Garrison and Up-country entries from 1781 onward were copied and in part annotated by the late E. W. Madge, but after his death the MSS. for sometime could not be recovered. It has, however, been secured by Mr. S. C. Sanial, and will appear in a future issue.

For information concerning the military men in the entries the reader should consult Dodwell and Miles' well-known lists; for the clergy he is referred to Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal* and for medical men to Crawford's *History of the Indian Medical Service*. The names marked with a cross are those of persons who, unable to sign their names, made their mark. In the notes the references are as follows:—

B. N.—Baptisms in Calcutta in present issue as numbered.

B. O.—The *Bengal Obituary*, 1848.

B. P. & P.—*Bengal: Past and Present*.

Buckland—*Dictionary of Indian Biography*.

Busteed—*Echoes from Old Calcutta*, Fourth Edition, 1908.

Fay—*Original Letters from India*, Mrs. Eliza Fay, Reprint, 1908.

F. in B.—*History of Freemasonry in Bengal* by W. K. Firminger, 1906.

Grand—*Narrative of a Gentleman*, (Reprinted by the C. H. S in 1910).

Grier—*Letters of Warren Hastings to his wife*, 1905.

Hickey—*Memoirs of William Hickey*, 2 Vols.

Hyde—*Parochial Annals of Bengal*.

Industry—*History of Lodge Industry and Perseverance* by W. K. Firminger. (Not on sale.)

Seton Karr—*Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes*, 2 Vols. 1865.

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|----|--------------|----|---|
| 1. | 1786 January | 3. | Robert Ledlie, Esq., (1) Barrister-at-Law and Miss Susannah Grand.(2) |
| 2. | „ „ | 3. | Mr. Charles Rice, Inhabitant, and Miss Elizabeth Le Clare. |

(1) R. Ledlie, cf. Grand, pp. 301—3. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 215.

(2) S. Grand, cf. last reference.

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|-----|--------------|-----|--|
| 3. | 1786 January | 10. | The Hon'ble William Monson (3) and Miss Ann Debonaire. (4) |
| 4. | " " | 14. | Mr. Robert Samuel Perreau (5) and Miss Mary Cooper. |
| 5. | " " | 28. | Mr. Alexander Colvin (6) and Miss Maria Margaret Paterson. |
| 6. | " February | 4. | Mr. John Mc. Clary, (7) Merchant, and Miss Jane Morgan. |
| 7. | " " | 16. | Lieutenant Richard Humfray, of the Engineers, and Miss Margaret Kiernan. |
| 8. | " March | 4. | Mr. Edward Parry and Mrs. Martha Beer, (8) widow. |
| 9. | " " | 16. | Captain George Awbery, of the Madras Establishment, and Miss Ann Botham. |
| 10. | " June | 3. | Mr. Robert Sheriff, Inhabitant, and Miss Euphimea Urquhart. |
| 11. | " " | 18. | John Wilkinson, Sergeant, and Mary Wheling, widow. |
| 12. | " July | 5. | Mr. George Carr, Mariner, and Frances de Rozario, Spinster. |
| 13. | " " | 18. | James Kilpatrick, Mariner, and Ann Wattan, Spinster. |
| 14. | " August | 6. | Alexander Macleod, Esq., of Madras and Miss Sophia Wrangham. (9) |
| 15. | " " | 26. | Mr. William Hyndman, (10) Junior Merchant, and Miss Zephyretta Guyon. |
| 16. | " " | 28. | Mr. George Davidson, (11) Assistant Surgeon, and Miss. Elizabeth Tidy. |
| 17. | " " | 29. | Thomas Morgan, Mariner and Ann Smith, Spinster. |

(3) The Hon. W. Monson, son of the 2nd Baron Monson, died December, 1807, Buckland.

(4) A. Debonaire. Perhaps a daughter of John Debonnaire and sister of Susana Sophia Selina who married (1) at Madras Major John Smith, and (2) at Calcutta Major Thos. Theophilus Metcalfe. See *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. VII, p. 166 and Vol. XIV, p. 206.

(5) R. S. Perreau, *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, pp. 49 and 69, 208. Perreau seems to have founded a firm in Calcutta known as "Perreau and Palling."

(6) Alex. Colvin, born 11th April 1756: died in Calcutta 10 Dec. 1818. *Bengal : Past & Present* Vol. XIV, p. 70.

(7) *Bengal : Past & Present*, Consolidated Index.

(8) Martha Beer. *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, pp. 16, 62.

(9) S. Wrangham, perhaps a sister of the famous beauty and amateur actress—Mrs. Bristow, Busteed, p. 195, *et seq.*, and p. 212.

(10) W. Hyndman, Assistant to the Hon. R. Lindsay when the latter was Collector at Sylhet. *Sylhet Records*, *passim*. Industry, p. 31.

(11) G. Davidson. See *Sylhet District Records*.

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|-----|------|--------------|--|
| 18. | 1786 | September 2. | John Smith, Batchelor, and Maria Deborah Finn, Spinster. |
| 19. | " | " | 30. Mr. William Dent, Junior Merchant, and Miss Louisa Blunt.(12) |
| 20. | " | October 22. | Mr. Thomas Denton, Chief Officer of the <i>Phoenix</i> Indiaman, and Miss. Mercy Evans. |
| 21. | " | " | 24. Mr. John Mackenzie, (13) Senior Merchant, and Miss Elizabeth Dawson. |
| 22. | " | November 23. | Mr. Samuel Oldham, (14) undertaker, and Mrs. Annie Wells, (15) widow. |
| 23. | " | " | 24. Ensign William Leadeater and Miss Mary Austin. |
| 24. | " | " | 26. George Drake, Esq., (16) of the Bombay Marine, and Miss Charlotte Greentree. |
| 25. | " | December 6. | Mr. Thomas Clarke, Merchant, and Ann Slatter, Spinster. |
| 26. | " | " | 25. Mr. John Harman Beecher, (17) Factor in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Harriet Cowper. |
| 27. | 1787 | January 13. | Mr. John Brown Ware, shop-keeper, and Miss. Ann Huett. |
| 28. | " | " | 25. Captain Edward Sandford and Miss. Mary Nixon. |
| 29. | " | " | 27. William Myers, (18) White-smith, and Hannah Ayres, Spinster. |
| 30. | " | February 1. | John Fergusson, Esquire, and Miss Margaret Mitchell. |
| 31. | " | " | 15. Mr. Benjamin Baron and Margaret de Grance of Barrypore. |
| 32. | " | " | 28. Mr. John Christopher Meade (19) and Mrs. Ann Williams, widow. |
| 33. | " | March 15. | John Edmondson, Esquire, (20) Lieut.-Colonel in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss. Sarah Ware.(21) |

(12) L. Blunt, perhaps a daughter of Sir W. Blunt, Bart. Grand, pp. 303—4.

[(13) J. Mackenzie, *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, page 216.

(14) S. Oldham, *Bengal: Past & Present*, Consolidated Index.

(15) A. Oldham. See below No. 98.

(16) G. Drake. Buried 26th April, 1787.

(17) J. H. Beecher, arrived 1779: died 1800. His daughter Anne, on 13th October, 1810, married Richmond Thackeray and became the mother of the Novelist.

(18) W. Myers, *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 179. B. O. 151.

(19) J. C. Meade. *Industry*, pp. 68: 65, Attorney-at-Law, buried 26th December, 1792.

(20) J. Edmondson, buried 2nd February, 1789.

(21) S. Ware. See under date 1791, July 15.

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| 34. | 1787 | April | 10. | Mr. John Edward Harrington,(22) (<i>sic</i>) Junior Merchant, and Miss. Marianne Philpot. |
| 35. | " | " | 10. | Mr. John Topping, Lieut. of Artillery, and Miss. Elizabeth Hunter. |
| 36. | " | " | 19. | Mr. Vincentio Corbett of Madras and Miss. Sarah Cole. |
| 37. | " | " | 19. | Mr. George Wroughton, Attorney-at-law, and Miss. Diana Denton. |
| 38. | " | " | 28. | Mr. George Urqhart Lawtie,(23) Gentleman, and Miss. Sarah Tuting.(24) |
| 39. | " | May | 8. | Lewis Manly, (25) Inhabitant, and Elizabeth Charley, (26) spinster. |
| 40. | " | " | 22. | Captain Isaac Binns (27) of the Artillery and Catherine Atwood, (28) widow. |
| 41. | " | " | 30. | Mr. Bignell Potter, Inhabitant, and Ann Crakley, spinster. |
| 42. | " | June | 18. | Mr. Thomas Cashman, Conductor of Ordinance, and Margaret Shaw, spinster. |
| 43. | " | July | 13. | Mr. Thomas Calvert, Senior Merchant in the Honourable Company's Service, and Miss Anne Philpot. |
| 44. | " | Augu | 3. | Mr. Robert Grant,(29) Factor in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss. Elizabeth Farquharson. |
| 45. | " | " | 11. | Mr. Thomas Gowan, Secretary to the General Bank, and Miss. Elizabeth Parry. |
| 46. | " | " | 12. | George Rice, Sergeant in the Sepoys, and Mary Watson, spinster, a native. |
| 47. | " | " | 22. | William Bowley, Sergeant of Artillery, and Mary Gibbons, Spinster, a native. |
| 48. | " | September | 15. | Timothy James Williams,(30) Inhabitant of Calcutta, and Miss. Ann Greenley, widow. |

(22) J. E. Harrington not to be confused with John Herbert Harrington.

(23) G. U. Lawtie, died 25th November, 1807, aged 55 years. *B. O.*, p. 92.

(24) Tuting. Miss. Phoebe Tuting had married E. R. Jackson on 28th January, 1779, *Fay*, p. 234.

(25) L. Manly, Inhabitant. See No. 159.

(26) E. Charley, buried 4th August, 1787.

(27) Capt. I. Binns, buried 11th November, 1791.

(28) C. Atwood, buried 10th December, 1789. Her infant son buried 6th November, 1789.

(29) R. Grant, a brother of Chas. Grant. See *Morris : Life of Charles Grant*.

(30) T. J. Williams, born in Brecknonshire, died 12th August, 1824, aged 63, buried at Chander nagore.

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|-----|--------------|-----|--|
| 49. | 1787 October | 29. | Mr. Charles Wyatt, (31) Lieut. of Engineers, and Mrs. Charlotte Drake, widow.(32) |
| 50. | " November | 4. | Captain Hiram Cox, (33) Commander of the Ship <i>Clive</i> , and Miss May Fraser.(34) |
| 51. | " " | 9. | Mr. Thomas Burney, Inhabitant of Calcutta, and Jane Ross, Spinster. |
| 52. | " " | 10. | Captain Patrick William Douglas of the Hon'ble Company's Military Service and Miss Jane Fortnom.(35) |
| 53. | " " | 16. | Mr. Patrick Butler, Inhabitant, and Mary Lloyd, Spinster. |
| 54. | " " | 24. | Mr. John Evelyn, (36) Senior Merchant in the Hon. Company's Service, and Miss Ann Shee.(37)
N. B.--The above Mr. and Mrs. Evelyn were previously married at Dacca on the 14th day of April last by Mathew Day, Esq., Revenue Chief there, in the presence of Mr. Cosby Burrowes and Mr. George Shee, it having been long customary in India for laymen to act as clergymen in solemnizing marriages when none of the latter resided near the parties to be married. |
| 55. | " " | 28. | Captain John Howe of the Hon'ble Company's Military Service and Jane Harris, widow. |
| 56. | " " | 28. | Mr. James Wintle, Factor in the Hon'ble Company's Service, and Miss Elizabeth Hammond.(38) |
| 57. | " " | 10. | Captain Thomas William Clayton (39) and Miss. |

(31) C. Wyatt. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 211.

(32) C. Drake. See above No. 24.

(33) Capt. H. Cox, the founder of the Magh Settlement which bears the name of Cox's Bazar. See "Leaves from the Editor's Note-book" in the present issue.

(34) E. M. Fraser, daughter of Alexander Fraser of Fairfield Inverness, and great-granddaughter of the eighth Lord Lovat. Her eldest sister, Eliza Dele Fraser, married Col. Allen Macpherson, but I have been unable to trace the place (probably Berhampur in Bengal) of her marriage.

(35) J. Fortnom. Perhaps a daughter of Col. John Fortnom, the Civil Architect.

(36) J. Evelyn, one of the earliest members of the Board of Revenue.

(37) A. Shee. Sister of Sir George Shee.

(38) Hammond. This may be an anglicised form of the Armenian name Emin. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. IV, p. 498. Note 85.

(39) T. W. Clayton is to be identified with the Clayton of the following inscription at Barrackpore:—

Lieut.-Col. W. Clayton,
deceased 22nd September A.D. 1804, aged 50 years.
He saved the forfeited lives of three hundred men,
at the assault of the Burrabuttie Fort
Cuttack, A.D. 1803.
Only the actions of the brave and just,
Smell sweet and blossom in the dust.

Emma Maria Jenkins. [*N.B.*—Captain Clayton's marriage in November 1787 was not known to me in time to be registered in its proper place.]

58. 1787 December 1. Mr. John Joys of Calcutta, (40) merchant, and Sarah Simpson, (41) Spinster.
59. " " 16. John Baptist, bachelor, and Ketty de Rozario, spinster. Both Portuguese natives.
60. " " 24. Thomas Bouden, Inhabitant, coachman to Mr. Burke, Paymaster to the King's Troops in India, and Elizabeth Cordoza, a Portuguese native.
61. " " 29. Mr. Thomas Joseph Brown, Inhabitant, and Miss Mary Shipton.
62. " " 30. Mr. Henry Tolfrey, Attorney-at-Law, and Miss Eliza Mercer.

All the above marriages are attested by T. Blanshard, Chaplain, who signs his name at the end of the monthly entries. After them appears the following entry:—

62a. This to certify that Charles Gatley, Lieutenant in the 13th Regiment of Native Infantry, India, and Catherine Young, Spinster, were married at Azim Ghur in the province of Oude, by permission of His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, the 13th day of August, 1789.

The marriage was solemnized between us,

CHARLES GATLEY,
CATHERINE YOUNG.

(Signed) G. YATES,
Adjt. Quarter M., 13th Regt.

I do certify that the ceremoney of marriage here mentioned was performed in my presence, and there being no Clergyman at Azim Ghur that duty was executed by the Public Staff officer at this Station.

D. B. EWEN BAILLIE,
*Colonel Commanding,
Azim Ghur.*

(40) John Joys. See *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 218. *Industry*, p. 11.
(41) Sarah Simson. Died 5th January 1793, aged 29 years. *B. O.*, p. 78.

After this the entries in the Register take a new form, and include the names of two witnesses, who usually (but not always) sign their names. In order to economise space, the marriages from January 1788 will be given, not in the form in which they actually appear in the Register, but arranged in columns :—

No.	Date	Names of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1788.				
63	Jan. 12	Wm. Johnson (42) ...	.....	A. M. Tolley ... Robt. Chambers (44)	William Johnson, <i>Senior Chaplain.</i>
		Anna Maria Theresa...	.....	Chas. Sealey. (45)	
		Tolley (43) ...	... ..	Wm Burke. (46)	
64	Feb. 9	Wm. Stone (47) ...	Merchant ...	George Yeats ...	Thos. Blanshard, <i>Chaplain of the Presidency of Fort William, Bengal.</i>
		Mafy Bagshaw ...	Widow ...	Robt. M. Bagshaw, <i>Lieut.</i>	
65	" 13	John Watson ...	Bachelor ...	John Grief (48) ...	Ditto.
		Martina de Corea ...	Spinster ...	Simon de Corea.	
66	" 16	Henry Douglas ...	Lieut. of Artillery, Bachelor.	Robt. Chambers ...	Ditto.
		Elizabeth Lee ...	Spinster ...	Frances Cham- bers.	
67	" 4	Neabit Ramsay ...	Clerk in the Post Office.	Jane Healy ...	William Johnson, <i>Senior Chaplain of the Presiden- cy.</i>

(42) W. Johnson, Clerk of the Crown. Hickey, Vol. II, p. 127.

(43) A. M. T. Tolley, the widow of Major Tolley whose name is connected with Tollygunje and the Nala. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. IV, p. 494.

(44) Sir R. Chambers. Buckland.

(45) C. Sealey, an official first of the Major's, then of the Supreme Court, Portrait in the Vestry-room of St. John's Church. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. IV, p. 498, Vol. VI, p. 221.

(46) W. Burke, cousin (not as formerly stated, brother) of Edmund Burke. Paymaster of H. M. Forces in India.

(47) W. Stone. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 69.

(48) J. Grief. See below 1789, April 23rd. An old Charity School boy. Leader of the choir of St. John's Church in 1780. Assistant Master at the School. Died 11th May, 1808. See below No. 106.

No.	Date.	Names of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1788.				
		Sarah Duncan ...	Spinster ...	Robt. Hollier.	
68	Feb. 21	James Inglish Keighley. (49)	.....	.....
		Sarah Christiana	.....	John Peach ...	Thos. Blanshard.
		Peach	Spinster ...	T. A. Lyand.	
69	March 2	John Hazard ...	Inhabitant ...	.....	Ditto.
		Amelia Fraser ...	Spinster.		
70	" 20	Thomas Barber ...	Merchant ...	Thomas Clark ...	Ditto.
		Ann Davidson ...	Spinster ...	Hana Oldham.	
71	" 26	George Goodwin ...	Mariner ...	Ephaim Clarke ...	Ditto.
		Elizabeth Blair ...	Spinster ...	William Henry Hunt.	
72	April 1	Robert Kelsall ...	Inhabitant ...	J. Himack.	
		Maria Rogers ...	Spinster ...	J. H. Johnston.	
73	" 3	Thos. Henry Davies(50)	Advocate-General, Bachelor.	C. L. Davies ...	John Owen. Junior Chaplain.
		Ann Baillie ...	Spinster ...	Julia Baillie. Hugh Baillie. (51)	
74	" 7	Gerald La Fontaine ...	Inhabitant ...	Michael Derozio(52)	T. Blanshard.
		Dorothy Derozio ...	Spinster ...	Robt. Hollier.	
75	" 7	Henry Maschmann ...	Inhabitant ...	Michael Derozio.	
		Rosina Derozio ...	Spinster ...	Robt. Hollier(53)...	Ditto.

(49) J. I. Keighley, Senior Merchant in 1777 when he married Miss Mary Higgins on 17th May. *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol IV, p. 503. The latter was buried on 12th November 1787. Board of Trade 1783 : Chief at Cossimbazar, 1784.

(50) T. H. Davies, *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. VII, p. 218. Buried 21st January, 1792.

(51) Hugh Baillie. *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. V, p. 144.

(52) M. Derozio, *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. IV, p. 49.

(53) R. Hollier succeeded J. B. L. Evesaque as Clerk of St. John's and Schoolmaster of the Charity School in 1785, when he arrived from England. Died 28th September, 1797.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1788.				
76	May 14	Edward Parry ...	Lieut. H. E. I. Co.'s Service.	Joseph Baretto (54)	Thos. Blanshard.
		Philadelphia Bondfield	Spinster ...	Mrs. Bondfield.(55)	
77	" 24	John Kinlock (56) ...	Senior Merchant, H. E. I. Co.	.....	Ditto.
		Janet Laurence ...	Spinster.		
78	June 21	Henry Lee ...	Merchant ...	.....	Ditto.
		Michael Baker ...	Widow.		
79	" 22	John Berg† ...	Mariner ...	J. Mofiat ...	John Owen.
		Betty Letter† ...	Spinster ...	David Kent.	
80	" 28	James Mowatt† ...	Mariner ...	Alex. Blair.	
		Anna Moranna† ...	Spinster ...	Michel Perry ...	D. Brown.
81	July 3	William Smoult (57)...	.....	Robt. Chambers ...	Thos. Blanshard.
		Chaslette Hardcastle...	Spinster ...	Frances Chambers. M. Watson.	
82	" 14	Thomas Martin ...	Assistant Surgeon, H. E. I. Co.	A. Upjohn (58) ...	Ditto.
		Isabel Duncan ...	Spinster ...	Nist. Ramsay.	
83	" 27	William Thomas ...	Inhabitant ...	Will. Williams ...	John Owen.
		Mary Greenway ...	.....	Griffith Jones.	
84	Aug. 17	John Dallos ...	Mariner.	.....	Thos. Blanshard.
		Elizabeth Foy† ...	Spinster ...	John Fergusson.† Joseph D'Rozaars.	

(54) J. Baretto, *Bengal : Past & Present*, Index, Hickey, Vol. II, p.

(55) Mrs. Bondfield, *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 65.

(56) John Kinloch Assistant Provincial Council of Revenue, Collector of Burdwan, 1775. Died 2nd September, 1788.

(57) W. Smoult, an attorney. Part-owner of a bazar at the corner of Dhurrumtollah and Chowringhi who came out on the same ship as the Judges in 1774. Sealer and Clerk to Mr. Justice Chambers.

(58) A. Upjohn. *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 221.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1788.				
85	Sept. 5	Isaac Myers ..	Mariner ...	.....	Thos. Blanshard.
		Mary Bretonear ...	Widow ...	Lawrence Madeira Timothy Pereira.	
86	Oct. 9	John Champain (59)...	.....	.....
		Margery Mackintosh...	Spinster ...	Ana Baillie ... Julia Baillie.	John Owen.
87	" 22	Edward Stretlell ...	Barrister-at-Law ...	P. Hay (60) ...	Thos. Blanshard.
		Elizabeth Child ...	Spinster ...	John Peach. J. I. Keighly	
88	Nov. 6	William Mercer (61)	Lieut. H. E. I. C.	.....
		Barbara Drummond Forbes.	Spinster ...	J. Champion ... A. Champion.	Ditto.
89	" 13	Thomas Kincey (62)...	Schoolmaster ...	.....
		Elizabeth Patterson	Widow ...	Robt. Hollier ...	Ditto.
90	Dec. 6	Edward Gardner(63)...	Auctioneer ...	James Dunkin ...	Ditto.
		Anne Reid ...	Spinster ...	Peter Murray.	
91	" 17	John Shipton ...	Lieut. of Artillery, H. E. I. C.	C. Cockerell(64) ...	Ditto
		Juliana Barker ...	Spinster ...	M. Cockerell(65) ...	Robarter Carr.
92	" 19	Home Popham ...	.....	Suluna Peacock(66)	
		Eliza Moffatt Prince...	Spinster ...	Eliza Hay.(67)	

(59) John Champain, Magistrate at Dacca, 1790.

(60) P. Hay. *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. VII, p. 166.

(61) W. Mercer. Hodson, p. 256.

(62) T. Kincey, Hyde, p. 236.

(63) E. Gardner. *Industry*, p. 61 *et seq.*

(64) C. Cockerell. *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 208.

(65) M. Cockerell, daughter of Sir Wm. Blunt, Bart. Buried 6th October, 1789.

(66) S. Peacock. See Note 103.

(67) Eliza Hay, *née* Wagstaffe.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
93	1788. Dec. 20	William Davidson ...	Lieut. H. E. I. C., Madras Establish- ment.	William Burke ...	Thos. Blanshard.
		Mary Kirkpatrick ...	Spinster ...	E. Stretele.	
94	1789. Jan. 13	Thomas Armitage ...	Sergnt.-Major, H. E. I. C.	Robt. Hollier ...	Ditto.
		Elizabeth Boutonert ...	... ..	James Robinson.	
95	" 17	George Dickinson ...	Junior Merchant, H. E. I. C.	R. J. Perreau ...	Ditto.
		Elizabeth Horton ...	Spinster ...	M. Perreau.	
96	" 25	John Allison ...	Musician ...	S. Seeberg ...	John Owen.
		Hannah Mena ...	Widow ...	Robt. Hollier.	
97	Feb. 4	Charles Cockerell ...	Senior Merchant...	M. Smith ...	Thos. Blanshard.
		Maria Tryphena Blunt	Spinster ...	J. Shore. — Blunt.	
				Henry Trail. (68)	
98	" 17	Richard Haigh(69) ...	Coachmaker ...	Thomas Barber ...	Ditto.
		Anna Oldham(70) ...	Widow ...	William Thomson.	
99	Feb. 22	Richard Comyns Birch.(71)	Factor, H. E. I. C.	Jacob Rider ...	Ditto.
		Frances Jane Rider(72)	Spinster ...	Frances Jane Rider	
100	March 3	Samuel Farmer ...	Major, H. E. I. C.	.....
		Susanna Robenianna Brown.	Spinster ...	E. Hay ... Serina Hay.	Ditto.

(68) Henry Trail. See under date 4 March, 1790.

(69) R. Haigh. *Industry*, p. 67.

(70) Anna Oldham. See number 22.

(71) R. C. Birch. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 68.

(72) F. J. Rider, probably a daughter of Jacob Rider of the Civil Service. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. IV, p. 497: Vol. V, p. 146 and Vol. XIV, p. 63.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1789.				
01	March 5	George Frederick Cherry.(74)	Senior Marchant, H. E. I. C.	J. Fleming.(73)	
		Martha Maria Paul ...	Spinster ...	J. Fleming. ... Thos. Graham. T. Dashwood.(75)	Thos. Blanshard.
102	" 26	Robert Perry ...	Mariner ...	.....
		Jane Healy ...	Spinster ...	W. Gowdie ... Robt. Duncan.	Ditto.
03	" 28	Henry McKenley	Lieut., H. E. I. C.	Thomas Brown ...	Ditto.
		Edith Brown ...	Spinster ...	John Brown. Ja. Cooper.	
104	April 16	George Hilario Barlow.(76)	Junior Merchant, H. E. I. C.	Emily Bristow (77)	John Owen.
		Elizabeth Smith ...	Spinster ...	John Ulric Collins.	
105	" 22	Nicholas Charles ...	Merchant ...	Roger Gale.	
		Mary Butler(78) ...	Widow ...	Thomas Boileau... A. M. Stuart.	Thos. Blanshard.
06	" 23	John Grief(79) ...	Scrivener ...	.....
		Sophia Catherina Friend.	Spinster ...	Aratoon Gatoos ... Robt. Hollier.	Ditto.
107	May 1	William Williams ...	Merchant ...	Francis Pippard(80)	Ditto.
		Hannah Grant ...	Spinster ...	Edwd. Gardner.	

(73) J. Fleming, a Surgeon. Crawford, Vol. I, pp. 228, 261; Vol. II, pp. 7-14; 33; 370. Carey, Vol. I, p. 179.

(74) G. F. Cherry. Murdered at Benares 14th Jan. 1799. Grand, p. 312.

(75) T. Dashwood. Perhaps Thomas Dashwood, Agent for the supply of Stationery.

(76) G. H. Barlow, joined the Civil Service in 1778. Appointed Governor-General, 1805. Buckland.

(77) Emily Bristow, perhaps Amelia Bristow. Busteed, p. 211 *et seq.*

(78) Mrs. Butler. See above under date, 16th November, 1787.

(79) J. Grief. See above note No. 48.

(80) F. Pippard. See below No. 147.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1789.				
108	May 17	David Parker ... Annetta Sponnade† ...	Mariner ... Spinster ...	..... T. Elliot,† Thos. Lapson† ...	Thos. Blanchard. Ditto.
109	July 7	Edward Griffith ... Anna Maria Munroe ...	Steward ... Spinster ...	J. Harey Hant. Robt. Hollier.	
110	" 8	Ezekiel Beck(81) ... Surannah Loah† ...	Merchant ... Widow ...	Robert Duncan ... Celia Duncan.	J. Owen.
111	" 14	Arthur Mair ... Jean Bannerman ...	..... Spinster ...	..... J. N. Dempster ... G. U. Lawtie.	Thos. Blanchard.
112	" 17	George Gowan ... Mary Parry ...	Capt. of Inf., H. E. I. C. Spinster ...	..... Richard Morris. Thos. Gowan.	Ditto.
113	" 19	William Swift ... Sarah Langley ...	..... Spinster ...	..... John Swift. Robt. Hollier.	Ditto.
114	Aug. 10	Jabez Mackenzie ... Judith Margaretta Gordon.	Capt. of Inf., H. E. I. C. Spinster ...	M. Cameron ... John Murray. G. U. Lawtie.	Paul Limrick, Chaplain of the Station at Chunar.
115	" 12	Edmond Lambert ... Sophia Hepburn ...	Capt. of Inf., H. E. I. C. Spinster ...	..... John Herbert Harrington(82). Chas. Sealey.	Thos. Blanchard.
116	" 13	Robert Holt ...	Junior Merchant, H. E. I. C.	.....	John Owen, Junr. Chaplain of Fort William.

(81) E. Beck. *Bengal: Past & Present*, Vol. XV, p. 1. Died at Dacca 30th March, 1791.

(82) J. H. Harrington. Buckland.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1789.	Margaret Donaldson .	Spinster ...	Chas. Barber. L. Peacock.	
117	Aug. 17	William Nevil Cameron.	Major of Engineers, H. E.	.....
		Charlotte Gordon ...	Spinster ...	Jabez Mackenzie ... John Murray.	Paul Limrick.
118	Sept. 9	John Neave ...	Junior Merchant, H. E. I. C.	Emily Bristow.	
		Catherine Smith ...	Spinster ...	J. Campbell ... K. Ross.	Thos. Blanshard.
119	Oct. 4	Bartholomew Hart- ley(83).	Surgn., H. E. I. C.	De Savillebague...	John Owen.
		Elizabeth Laney ...	Spinster ...	—Delafous. .	
120	" 9	John Marshall ...	Of Dacca, merchant	Thos. Smith ...	Ditto.
		Elizabeth Taylor ...	Widow ...	J. H. Wingrove.	
121	" 26	John Rawlins ...	H. E. I. Co.'s Civil Service.	B. Grindall (84) ...	Ditto.
		Frances Powney(85) ...	Spinster ...	Catherine M. Pow- ney.	
122	" 29	John Haldane(86) ...	H. E. I. Co.'s Civil Service.	R. Haldane ...	Chas. Seacombe, Missa.
		Anna Holmes ...	Spinster ...	J. White.	
123	Nov. 17	John Williams ...	Capt. H. E. I. Co.'s Service.	A. W. Hearsey(87)	John Owen.
		Jame Dale ...	Spinster ...	C. M. Hearsey(88).	

(83) B. Hartley. *Bengal : Past & Present*. C. Index.

(84) B. Grindall. *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. VII, p. 171 ; Vol. XIV, p. 210.

(85) F. Powney. For references to members of the Powney family, see *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. IX, pp. 71 *et seq.*

(86) J. Haldane. *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 65.

(87) A. W. Hearsey. Lt.-Col. A. W. Hearsey, died 10th July, 1798, buried at Allahabad. The father of Lt.-Genl. Sir John Bennet Hearsey. Pearse: *The Hearseys*.

(88) C. M. Hearsay *née* Charlotte Crane, married at Walton-on-the Thames in 1787.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1789.				
124	Nov. 23	Turner Macan,(89) ... Frances Louisa Anne Pratt.	H. E. I. Co's Service. Spinster ...	Chas. Chapman(90) John Cockrane. R. C. Biroh. W. Camac(91) ...	John Owen. Ditto.
125	Dec. 1	Charles Law ... Anna Maria Stuart(92)	H. E. I. Co's Service. Widow ...	Joseph Price, Junior(93). Richard Burney(94)	
126	" 16	George Bartram† ... Joanna de Pereira† ...	Mariner ... Single woman ...	David Plint ... Thomas Wilson.	Ditto.
127	" 16	James Browne ... Catherine Charlotte Raper.	Lieutenant-Colonel H. E. I. C. Spinster ...	A. Ellerker(95) ... E. Ellerker. Eliza Ellerker.	Ditto.
128	" 31	Nathaniel Penry Rees Margaret Gregory ...	..... Spinster ...	Eliza Simpson ... Anna Simpon. Eliza Ellerker. W. Camac. Jno. Rider. Joseph Price, Junior	Ditto.
	1790.				
129	Jan. 1	John Farrar ... Sarah Pinhorn ...	Pilot ... Spinster ...	William Myers ... John Cordingley.	Thos. Blanshard.

(89) Turner Macan, F. in B., pp. 69, 71.

(90) C. Chapman. *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. VII, p. 168 ; Vol. XIV, p. 214. Grier, pp. 223 : 435.

(91) W. Camac. *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 208.

(92) A. M. Stewart died 31st May, 1792, aged 26. Her infant son died 10th April following, B. O., p. 78.

(93) J. Price, Junior, nephew of the well known Sea-Captain and pamphleteer, Capt. Joseph Price.

(94) R. Burney, brother of Madame D'Arblay. *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. IX.

(95) A. Ellerker. *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. VII, p. 167. See under "Garrison and Upcountry" for marriage of Eliza Ellerker, at Maghys, 16th June 1791. Gen. E. Ellerker died at Bhagalpur 15th November, 1800, aged 63. *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. VIII, p. 210.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1790.				
130	Jan. 7	William Farquharson (95a) Ann Eliza Nesham ...	H. E. I. Co's Service. Spinster ...	Eliza Hay. John Carnac(96)... Eliza Grant(97). Robt. Grant. E. Elinor Dyer. Jane Louisa Debonaire.	John Owen. Ditto.
131	" 10	James Sutherland(98) Anna Potter ...	..... Widow ...	John Grief. Elizabeth Pichman	
132	" 24	Joseph Weldon ... Susannah Bowers† ...	Mariner ... Spinster ...	John Bowers ... P. Moffat.	Thos. Blanchard.
133	Feb. 7	Garret Dillon ... Jenny Johnson ...	Mariner ... Spinster ...	Pat. Andrews ... Ephraim Clarke.†	Ditto.
134	" 9	Daniel Bridges ... Silvia De Rozariot ...	Mariner ... Spinster ...	Pat Andrews ... Ephraim Claurke.†	Ditto.
135	" 12	Thomas Wilson ... Mary Gilbrith ...	Mariner ... Spinster ...	Thos. Carr ... Jas. Broden.	John Owen.
136	" 14	Thomas Mackenzie ... Mary de Rozariot ...	Blacksmith ... Widow ...	Francis Pires ... Andio Argoly.	Ditto.
137	" 17	John Moubray(99) ... Elizabeth Simpson ...	..... Spinster ...	Robt. Graham ... Phineas Hall. W. Simpson.	Thos. Blanchard.
138	" 20	Joseph Hancock Hutchinson.	.....	.....	Ditto.

(95a) W. Farquharson. *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, pp. 66—7.

(96) Carnac. This is probably the well known Brig-General. Buckland.

(97) E. Grant. See above No. 44.

(98) James Sutherland, died 24th December, 1796, aged 39. B. O., p. 265.

(99) J. Moubray. F. in B., pp. 58, 69.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1790.				
		Elizabeth McTegart ...	Spinster ...	Henry Swinhoe. Richd. Brown.	
139	March 1	Charles Russell Crom- melin.(100)	Junior Merchant, H. E. I. C.	M. Brown ...	Thos. Blanchard.
		Juliana Shipton ...	Widow ...	Jno. Cockerell.	
40	" 4	Henry Trail ...	.....	.....	Ditto.
		Anna Simpson ...	Spinster ...	Jno. Moubray. G. U. Lawtie.	
41	" 5	James Whrattey ...	Mariner ...	Thomas Tylar ...	Ditto.
		Anna de Rozario ...	Widow ...	Ephraim Clark.†	
42	" 20	William Terraneau (901)	.....	.....	Ditto.
		Elizabeth Mitchell ...	Spinster ...	L. Brown. Alex. Colvin.	
43	April 6	John Neish ...	Printer ...	Robt. Hollier.	
		Rosart ...	A native woman ...	J. Duncan ... W. Eilam Lang.	John Owen.
44	" 6	Thomas Smith ...	.....	Michael Derozio...	John Owen.
		Dorothy la Fontcaie ...	Widow ...	William Dolby.	
45	" 14	Edward McEnnis ...	Mariner ...	John Holland ...	Ditto.
		Anna Pereira(102)† ...	Spinster ...	John Winter.	
46	" 21	Thomas De Crust† ...	A native Protest- ant.	T. Craven ...	Thos. Blanchard.
		Elizabeth† ...	A native Hindoo, but lately bapti- zed.	Modanmehun Paul	
47	" 24	Thomas White† ...	Mariner ...	John Corey ...	John Owen.

(100) C. R. Crommelin. *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, pp. 206—7.

(101) W. Terraneau. *Bengal : Past & Present*, 356. Vol. XIV, p. 195.

(102) Anna Pereira. See No. 243.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1790.				
		Margaret De Cruz† ...	Spinster ...	Thomas de Cruz.†	
148	May 5	George Philbrow ...	Mariner ...	Thomas Andrews...	Thos. Blanshard.
		Catherine Lownjeet...	Single woman ...	Fra. Smith.	
149	" 10	Francis Pierrard ...	Junior Merchant, H. E. I. C.	Robt. Ledlie ...	John Owen.
		Sabina..... Peacock (103)	Spinster ...	S. Leddlie.	
150	" 23	John Coles ...	Inhabitant ...	Joseph Turner ...	John Blanshard.
		Mary Bruce† ...	Spinster ...	Edward K. Wilson	
151	" 21	John Fergusson† ...	Mariner ...	G. Harding ...	John Owen.
		Aksofia James† ...	Widow ...	Chas. McCarthy.	
152	June 3	John Fendall(104) ...	Senior Merchant, H. E. I. Co.	Eliza Serena Hay	Thos. Blanshard.
		Mary Farquharson ...	Spinster ...	Ann Eliza Farquharson. W. Farquharson. Jane Louisa Debonaire. R. Haldane. R. Goodlad.	
153	" 11	John Knott ...	Inhabitant ...	.....	Ditto.
		Anne Rowland ...	Spinster ...	James Gardiner.† Rt. Hollier.	
154	July 10	John Lewis ...	Inhabitant ...	Willm. Legh ...	Ditto.
		Mary Skardon ...	Widow ...	Richd Phairey.	
155	" 12	Griffith Jones ..	.....	Will. Williams ...	John Owen.
		Mary Brightman ...	Spinster ...	W. B. Greenway.	

(103) S. Peacock. A most interesting account of this young lady in Grier, p. 352.

(104) J. Fendall. Collector at Murshidabad.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
156	1790. July 20	Richard Campbell Bazett.(105) Margaret Ann Hampton.	..... Spinster ...	Alex. Colvin ... Samuel Hampton (106) Richd. Morris. Robt. Graham.	John Owen.
157	" 24	Samuel Pullen ... Ann Elizabeth Christian.†	Inhabitant ... Spinster ...	J. McArthur ... Andrew Moss.	Thos. Blanshard
158	Oct. 7	Francis Brown ... Mary Campbell†	Pilot Service ... Spinster ...	Archibald Campbell (sic). John Rae.	John Owen.
159	" 7	Lewis Manley (107) ... Ann Da Bruyn ...	..... Spinster ...	..... Michael Derozio. Mathew Mendes.	Ditto.
160	" 10	Robert Lister† ... Elizabeth Dixon†	Mariner ... Spinster ...	Joseph Simpson ... Ext. Harding.	Ditto.
161	" 10	William Watson ... Tranche da Rozario†...	Mariner ... Spinster ...	John Jones ... William Bason.	Ditto.
162	" 19	Isaac Binns (108) ... Henrietta Priscilla Caroline Carter.	Captain, H. E. I. C. Spinster ...	James Frushard (109). Caleb. John Garbrand.	Thos. Clarke, <i>English Missionary</i> .
163	" 23	Alex. Davidson(110) ... Anna Elian Mary Isabel Rice.	..... Spinster ...	..... Charles Rice. Jas. Collie.	John Owen.

(105) R. C. Bazett. The Bazett family extended their business from St. Helena to Madras and Calcutta.

(106) S. Hampton. Col. S. Hampton, one of the most extensive owners of houses in Calcutta at this period.

(107) L. Manley. See above, No. 39.

(108) I. Binns. See above, No. 40.

(109) James Frushard. See Hunter: *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 357 et seq.

(110) A. Davidson. See *Sylhet District Records*.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1790.				
164	Oct. 29	William Farmer Simpson.	.....	.....	John Owen.
		Ann Williams ...	Widow ...	G. Hamilton. B. Geraud.	
165	" 30	John Campbell ...	Of H. M.'s Navy...	Samuel Hampton	Ditto.
		Catherine Mackintosh	Spinster ...	—Barges.	
166	Nov. 6	Joseph Locke ...	Mariner ...	G. Harding ...	Ditto.
		Hannah de Rezo† ...	Spinster ...	G. Wiltshire.	
167	" 7	George Wiltshire ...	Mariner ...	J. Moffat ...	Ditto.
		Sarah Locket† ...	Spinster ...	Theoph Rendell.	
168	" 8	Edward Bruce ...	.....	.....
		Elizabeth Greenway ...	Spinster ...	Will. Williams ... Will. Thomas.	Ditto.
169	" 24	John Ulric Collins ...	Captain, H.E. I. C.		
		Charlotte Wrangham	Spinster ...	John Bristow(111) R. Dundas.	Ditto.
170	Dec. 1	Joseph O. Halloran ...	Lieut., H.E. I. C.		
		Frances Bayley ...	Spinster ...	S. H. Showers ... G. St. John, Capt., 73rd Regt.	Ditto.
171	" 3	Thos. Stone ...	Pilot Service.		
		Dominga Courist† ...	Spinster ...	Geo. Bartran ... J. Moffat.	Ditto.

(111) J. Bristow. See *B. P. & P. Index*. Busted, p. 211 *et seq.*(112) W. K. Amherst. Collector of Rangpur, died at Rangpur, 29th April 1792. *B. O.*, p. 373.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1790.				
172	Dec. 8	William Kerville Amherst. (112)	Senior Merchant, H. E. I. C.		
		Caroline Powney ...	Spinster ...	B. Grindall ... Jno. Rawlins. A. Caldecott (113) Charlotte Grindall	John Owen.
173	Nov. 19	Henry Harris ...	Mariner ...	J. B. Levesque ...	Ditto.
		Anna de Rozario† ...	Spinster ...	P. Hollier.	
174	" 20	Barnard Hard ...	.....	Wm. Jones ...	Ditto.
		Anne Roberton ...	Spinster ...	J. J. Vallenti.	
175	" 31	John Ludwig Jacobi (114)	Silversmith ...	J. Moffat ...	Tbos. Blanshard.
		Mary Johnson ...	Spinster ...	Wm. Gray.	
	1791.				
176	Jan. 15	John Banister Hudson	.....	Benj. Blake ...	John Owen.
		Margaret Bacon ...	Spinster ...	John Cooke.	
177	" 30	William Nuthall ...	Pilot Service ...	Joseph Price, (Jr.)	Ditto.
		Maria Skaffart ...	Spinster ...	Wm. Mangeon.	
178	Feb. 11	James White ...	Printer ...	Robt. Udney (115)	David Brown, Chaplain to the Garrison of Fort Williams.
		Anna Elizabeth Obeck† (116).	Spinster ...	Jane Robinson.	
179	March 7	Francis Purchase (117)	Inhabitant ...	Fras. Gladwin ...	Thos. Blanshard.
		Isabella Gladwin ...	Spinster ...	W. Gillespie.	

(113) A. Caldecott. Accountant to the Board of Revenue.

(114) J. L. Jacobi, died 1st October, 1806. B. O., p. 198.

(115) R. Udney. Of the Board of Trade. Mr. and Mrs. Udney, in crossing the river, were drowned, 3rd January, 1794, he aged 31, she 26.

(116) A. E. Obeck, probably a daughter of the Missionary, John Obeck, who after an association with great Swartz, came to Calcutta, and resided there for 25 years, dying on 19th September, 1803. Seton-Karr, Vol. III, pp. 388—89.

(117) F. Purchase. B. O., p. 74.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1791.				
180	March 25	Robert Holt ...	Senior Merchant, H. E. I. C.	L. M. Taylor ...	John Owen.
		Henrietta Nesham ...	Spinster ...	F. Pierard, D. Vander Heyden (118).	
181	May 1	John Allen ...	Inhabitant ...	John Holland ...	Thos. Blanshard.
		Ann Erea Feraraj ...	Spinster ...	R. Hollier.	
182	" 5	William Harvey ...	Musician, Bachelor	John Fitzgerald ...	Ditto
		Sarah Gunkleman ...	Widow ...	Rob. Wilton,†	
183	" 21	James Stark (118a) ...	.....	A. Holland ...	John Owen.
		Charlotte Augusta Ritso.	Spinster ...	Wm. Jackson (119)	
184	June 7	Thomas Andrews ...	Mariner in the Pi- lot Service.	Archibald Camp- bell.	Ditto.
		Elizabeth Hervey ...	Spinster ...	R. Hollier.	
[The above couples were married at the Portuguese Church, 27th May 1788.]					
185	" 19	William Smith ...	Inhabitant ...	John Forrest ...	Thos. Blanshard.
		Martha Noble† ...	Spinster ...	William Collier.	
186	" 29	Henry Grace ...	Captain, H. E. I. C.	L. Greene ...	John Owen.
		Ann Helena Daniel ...	Spinster ...	Robt. Greene.	
187	July 6	John Wood (120) ...	.....	.....	Ditto.
		Elizabeth Jaffray (121)	Spinster ...	John Bentley. Rob. Duncan.	
188	" 8	George Reece† ...	Bengal Pilot ...	Hume Jackson ...	Thos. Blanshard.
		Ann Martin† ...	Spinster ...	Thomas Andrews.	

(118) D. Vander Heyden. Commissary of Musters, 1777.

(118a) James Stark. *Bengal : Past & Present*, Vol. XIV, p. 64.

(119) Wm. Jackson, Registrar of the Supreme Court.

(120) J. Wood, died 7th August, 1819, aged 55. B. O., p. 212.

(121) E. Jaffray, died 14th May, 1792, aged 42. B. O., p. 212.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1791.				
189	July 13	Thomas Hawkshaw ... Gertrude Christiana Hatfield.	Captain, M. E. I. C. Widow ...	Donald D. Campbell. Thomas Boileau. V. B. Vanus.	Thos. Blanshard.
190	" 15	James Pearson ... Sarah Edmonson (122)	Captain, H. E. I. C. Widow ...	Eliza Hay ... Chas. Barber. Tho. Burke.	John Owen.
191	Aug. 4	Michael George Prendergast. Catherine Frances Smith.	..... Spinster ...	..... F. Chambers ... Wm. Smoults. A. Smith.	Thos. Blanshard.
192	" 18	William Dean ... Anna Strachan ...	Mariner. Spinster ...	Jno. B. Hudson ... G. K. Gonom.	Ditto.
193	" 22	James Mackay ... Jane Robinson ...	..... Spinster ...	..... Henrietta Peal. Duncan Mackay. S. Boom.	D. Brown.
194	Sept. 10	Hugh Rose (123) ... Anna Topham ...	Lieut., H. E. I. C. Spinster ...	John Mackenzie. Chas. Chapman ... E. Mackenzie. M. L. Chapman.	John Owen.
195	Oct. 14	Thomas Thornton ... Harriet Frances Skardon.	Inhabitant ... Spinster ...	..... John Lewis. John Hancock Hutchinson.	Thos. Blanshard.

(122) S. Edmonson. See above, No. 33.

(123) H. Rose. For Hugh Rose of the Civil Service, of Kilravock in Scotland, who died at Mirzapur on 29th January, 1817, see B. O., p. 393. A *Genealogical direction of the family of Rose of Kilravock* was issued by the Spalding Club, in 1844.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1791.				
196	Oct. 16	Patrick Hanlay ... Susanah Allison ...	Inhabitant ... Widow ...	Ja. Lilly ... Nancy Lilly.†	John Chist. Dremer, <i>V. D. M.</i>
197	" 16	Daniel Gardener ... Mary Stockdale ...	..... Spinster ...	..... John Cox. Thos. Stockdale ... David Gardener.	John Owen.
198	" 16	Benjamin Leonard Jones. Ann Hall ...	Mariner ... Spinster ...	James Sutherland. Ann Sutherland.	Thos. Blanshard
199	" 27	John Reid ... Annelet ...	Merchant ... Spinster ...	John Hyde (124)... T. Holland.	John Owen.
200	Nov. 2	Thomas Benbow ... Maria de Rozario† ...	Mariner ... Spinster ...	James Kith ... James Weyan.	Thos. Blanshard.
201	" 3	Charles Maclean ... Margaret Robertson ...	Surgeon of the <i>Northumberland</i> Indiaman. Spinster ...	Frances Chambers. Geo. Wilton.	Ditto.
202	" 10	Gregory Hickman ... Gertrude Henrietta Vanas.	Eusign., H. E. I. C. Spinster ...	W. Vanas ... Holloran. Jas. Gascoyne.	Ditto.
203	" 13	David Stuart ... Johanna Smith ...	Inhabitant ... Spinster ...	..... Alex. Sannell ... John Shearman.	Ditto.
204	Dec. 1	John Hangerford ... Mary Anne Pyne ...	..... Spinster ...	..... Janes Dunkin ... Charles Rice.	Ditto.

(124) John Hyde. There was a merchant of this name as well as the wellknown Judge in Calcutta.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1791.				
205	Dec. 1	John Lewis Chauvet (125).	Senior Merchant H. E. I. C.	Thos. Boileau (126)	Thos. Blanshard.
		Frances Boileau ...	Spinster ...	Wm. Couran.	
206	" 1	John Reid ...	Surgeon, H. E. I. C.	Thos. Boileau ...	Ditto. It is stated that these parties were married at Chit-tagong on 19th May by S. Bird, no clergyman being resident at that place.
		Ann Boileau ...	Spinster ...	Wm. Couran.	
207	" 9	John Palmer (127) ...	.....	Henrietta Holt ...	Thos. Blanshard.
		Mary Sarah Hampton	Spinster ...	Robert Holt.	
208	" 10	James Thomas Kennedy (128)	.....	.....
		Mary Wilkins ...	Spinster ...	Thos. Lee ...	John Owen.
				John Bellewe.	
				Chas. Ladd.	
209	" 30	Phillip Rock ...	Mariner.		
		Sarah Parsons ...	Spinster ...	James Sutherland.	Thos. Blanshard.
				G. S. Hillron.	
	1792.				
210	Jan. 1	Andrew Moffatt (129)	Taylor, Bachelor...	Luding Jacobi ...	Ditto.
		Mary Johnson (130) ...	Spinster ...	William Roberts.	

(125) J. L. Chauvet. Sent in charge of a Mission to Kuch Behar 1788. Buried in one of the closed and walled-in cemeteries at Arrah. Died 15th August, 1794, aged 54.

(126) Thos. Boileau, a lawyer. *B. P. & P. B. O.*, p. 90. Churchwarden of St. John, 1797.

(127) J. Palmer. Buckland. J. B. Levesque. Church clerk in 1786, and Master of the Charity School. Died 7th September, 1795.

(128) The firm of Lee and Kennedy, did business in a house which stood on the site of the Home Office Buildings in Government Place West.

(129) A. Moffatt, died 8th January, 1817, aged 53. *B. O.*, p. 198.

(130) M. Johnson. According to the *B. O.*, (p. 198) she must have been under the age of 14 when she married, for she died 12th September, 1800, aged 21 years and 6 months.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1792.				
211	Jan. 5	Henry Creighton ... Frances Stupart ...	..... Spinster ...	..... J. B. Smith. D. D. Brown.	Thos. Blanshard.
212	" 16	Thomas Surin ... Elizabeth Prickman (131).	Monthly writer ... Widow ...	P. Baptiste ... Pascal Surin.†	Ditto.
213	" 21	Archibald Thomson ... Sarah Sannell ...	Printer ... Spinster ...	J. Cooper ... Alex. Sannell. D. Thompson.	Ditto.
214	" 22	George Frederick Smith Mary de Rozario† ...	Mariner ... Spinster ...	Jno. Bartlet ... John Prosser.	Ditto.
215	" 24	James Taylor (132) ... Elizabeth Emma Long (133).	..... Spinster ...	..... Sarah Areling ... F. Hearty.	John Owen.
216	" 27	Joseph Stranssenberg... Elizabeth Clario ...	Inhabitant	A. H. Cantopher ... Chas. Mackenzie.	Ditto.
217	" 28	Aaran Crossley Seymour. Maria Hogarth ...	..... Spinster ...	Wm. Dunkin ... W. — Tucker. Mary Skinner.	Ditto.
218	Feb. 6	John Frazer ... Francisca Dieans† ...	Mariner ... Spinster ...	..... Cornelis Cooper. F. Golledge.	Thos. Blanshard.
219	" 16	Joseph Hodges (134)... Sarah Adams ...	Mariner ... Spinster ...	..... Nath. Bacon. M. B. Hudson.	Ditto.

(131) E. Prickman. For the first marriage. See *B. P. & P.*, Vol. VII, p. 170.

(132) James Taylor. Attorney to the H. E. I. C.

(133) E. E. Long, died 31st July, 1809, aged 35 years.

(134) J. Hodges. *Industry*, p. 54.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1792.				
220	Feb. 19	James Lake ... Isabel Rozat ...	Butcher ... Spinster ...	..... Ed. Palmer. Hannah De Cruz.†	Thos. Blanshard.
221	March 7	John Palling ... Anna Maria Graveley (135)	..... Spinster ...	..... M. Perreau. Phillip Hanington. R. S. Perreau. Jas. Frushard.	Ditto.
222	" 19	James Cross ... Jane Brookst ...	..... Widow ...	..... George Davis. John Baker.	David Brown.
223	" 20	John Miller ... Elizabeth Marshall ...	Ensign. of Infantry, H. E. I. C. Widow ...	James Sutherland. Ann Sutherland.	Thos. Blanshard.
224	April 27	William Hodney Marshall. Catherine Clark ...	..... Spinster ...	..... A. C. Seymour. Jas. Forbes.	Ditto.
225	May 1	William Moscrop (136) Sarah A. Avelling (137)	..... Spinster ...	..... H. Hart. J. P. Gardiner. [Name illegible]. F. K. Lind.	John Owen.
226	" 13	John Mathewst ... Mary Sylvat ...	A native, bachelor Spinster, a native {	J. B. Levesque ... R. Hollier.	Thos. Blanshard.

(135) A. M. Graveley, died 25th April, 1794, aged 19.

(136) W. Moscrop, died 14th January, 1801, aged 44 years. B. O., p. 84.

(137) S. A. Avelling, died 12th January, 1796, aged 22 years.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1792.				
227	May 15	James Kennedy ...	Lieut., H. M. 19th Regiment of Dragoons.	.....	Thos. Blanshard.
		Liliās Frances Campbell.	Spinster ...	Henry Trail. James Campbell.	
228	" 26	David Wilson ...	Inhabitant ...	.....	Ditto.
		Maria de Roza† ...	Spinster ...	Ed. Palmer. John Green.	
229	" 29	Robert Udney (138) ...	.....	Thos. Blanshard...	John Owen.
		Ann Brooks ...	Spinster ...	D. Brown.	
230	June 9	Samuel Jones ...	.....	.....
		Mary Ann Griffin ...	Spinster ...	J. Brittridge (139) Mary Brittridge.	Thos. Blanshard.
231	" 10	John Rich.† ...	Native Inhabitant	John Smith ...	Ditto.
		Caroline Moore.† ...	Spinster ...	John Laimoa.	
232	" 23	Charles Child Wilson	Lieutenant of Infantry, H. E. I. C.	G. Leary ...	Ditto.
		Ann Green ...	Spinster ...	Edward Strettell.	
233	" 24	John Green ...	Inhabitant ...	David Wilson ...	Ditto.
		Anna De Roza.† ...	Spinster ...	Ed. Palmer.	
234	July 8	William Bedell ...	Lieutenant, H. E. I. C.	James Wordsworth	Ditto.
		Anne Young ...	Spinster ...	Edward Parzy.	
235	" 10	George Elliot ...	Junior Merchant, H. E. I. C.	P. Hay ... E. Hay.	Ditto.
		Rachael Dunkin ...	Spinster ...	Wm. Dunkin.	

(138) Robert Udney and Ann his wife were drowned in crossing the Hughly river, '3rd November, 1794, he aged 31, and she 26. B. O., p. 79.

(139) J. Brittridge, the Engraver: B. O., p. 392.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1792.				
236	July 17	George Henry Garden Jane Connor ...	Master Mariner ... Spinster ...	John Pitman ... Antho. Huder.	John Owen.
237	Aug. 11.	Robert Gibson ... Ann Woodin ...	Taylor ... Spinster ...	E. Wooden ... Wm. Ford.	Thos. Blanshard.
238	" 24	William Horatio Green Mary Neish ...	Lieut., Fireworker, H. E. I. C. Spinster ...	William Tomkins Margaret Ogilvy. Charlotte Dickson.	John Owen.
239	Sept. 23	James Hill ... Ann Rice.† ...	Pilot Service ... Widow ...	Edward Hill ... James Martin.	Ditto.
240	" 24	Francis Howley ... Elizabeth Williams ...	..... Spinster ...	..... Cha. Chapman. M. L. Chapman. G. Robinson.	Ditto.
241	" 27	John Nelley ... Charlotte Lindsay ...	Lieut., of Artillery, H. E. I. C. Spinster ...	Alex. Colvin. Robt. Chapman ... R. S. Perreau.	John Owen.
242	" 29	Henry Haldane ... Maria Helm ...	Captain, Royal En- gineers. Spinster ...	J ——— Cornwallis ... John Haldane. R. Cogan. Richard Peirce.	Ditto.
243	Oct. 13	John Baptist Levesque Primrose Mac' Innes...	..... Widow ...	R. Hollier ... Mr. Barnfield.	Ditto.
244	" 16	James Cosmo Gordon (140) Christian Knox ...	Lieut., H.E.I.C. ... Spinster ...	Thos. Graham ... J. Kelville.	Ditto.

(140) J. C. Gordon, born 13th August, 1756, died 31st December, 1792.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties.	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1792.				
245	Oct. 20	Domingo Hope ... Elizabeth.† ...	A Native Christian ... Ditto ...	William Smith ... Lewis Grant.	John Owen.
246	" 28	Joseph Alexander ... Anna Smith† ...	..... Spinster ...	Jacob Champ ... Francisco Silva.	Ditto.
247	Nov. 9	William Armstrong ... Harriet Hepburn ...	Senior Merchant, H. E. I. C. Spinster ...	J. W. Hewitt ... A Clarke.	Ditto.
248	" 15	William Townshend ... Jones. (141) Harriett Stevens ...	Attorney-at-Law... Spinster ...	James Dunkin ... T. Brownrigg.	Thos. Blanshard.
249	" 16	William Hopper ... Margaret Quin ...	Lieut. of Artillery, H. E. I. C. Spinster ...	Henry Trail ... H. Cogan.	Ditto.
250	" 17	Lewis Ferdinand Smith ... Anna Mitchell ...	..... Spinster ...	William Terraneau Eliza Hedges.	Ditto.
251	" 24	Francis De Cruz † ... Sally De Rozario † ...	..... Spinster ...	Domingo Rosario.† Bysant Mathews †	Ditto.
252	" 25	James Mouat ... Mary Sevenberg ...	Mate, Pilot Service Spinster ...	George Winter ... Charles Mills.	Ditto.
253	Dec. 2	Andrew Glass ... Harriett Wynox ...	Captain, Bengal Artillery. Spinster ...	A. Grant ... J. Thornhill.	Ditto.
254	" 10	Solomon Pyefinch ... Maria Johnson ...	..... Spinster ...	..... William Johnson. R. S. Perrera. Wm. Jackson.	Ditto.

No.	Date.	Name of Parties. *	Description.	Witnesses.	Celebrant.
	1792.				
255	Dec. 16	William Henry Smith	Mariner ...	.....	Thos. Blanshard.
		Mary Bonner † ...	Widow ...	B. Dougan. Geo. Stephenson.	
256	" 17	John Macdonald (142)	Widower ...	Jas. Kennedy ...	D. Brown.
		Catherine Wilkins ...	Spinster ...	Henry Trail.	
257	" 30	Joseph Welsh ...	.....	.....	John Owen.
		Jesse Heatly (143) ...	Spinster ...	C. Lambert. Elizabeth Falls. Sarrah Bunny.	

(142) J. Macdonald, *B. : P. & P.*, Vol. VIII.

(143) J. Heatly, died 30th May, 1823, aged 46 years, *B. O.*, p. 114.

The Letters of Mr. Richard Barmwell—XIV.

No. 516.

TO RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQR.,

CALCUTTA,

The 25th November, 1776.

DEAR LEYCESTER,

I have received your letters of the 6th January, 14th February, 23rd and 25th March last. What you direct and may be necessary in your affairs here you may depend on being properly attended to. Beaumont's accounts with me which you desire may be reversed has been complied with and returned to you. I thank you for your assurances of attention to such affairs of mine as come under your management. I will not burden you much while I take the freedom to which our long friendship encourages me, for I shall not have any intricate concerns to occupy your time—the only one from which you can possibly be troubled is my claim on Captain G. Thompson and that I am in hopes will not subject you to any great difficulty in the adjustment as you have full authority to settle it in the way you shall judge best.

Long before this reaches you the question will be determined whether H. is or is not to continue in the Government as well as myself in the Council. Should it be decided against us the triumph of the faction by which we have been treated with so much disingenuity and want of candour will pain me more than the bare loss of my station, which you must know circumscribed as it is to be rather honorary than profitable. The demise of Colonel Monson (intelligence of which went by the *Syren* after her dispatches were closed) has given some intermission to the strange scene that has so long prevailed and enabled Mr. H. and myself to clear off a great part of the load of business that was before the Board. The Provincial Council's letters on the interests of their several districts which have scarcely ever been answered under the space of 6 or 8 months subsequent to their receipt have been for the first time since the new Government took place, answered to the present period. Although Clavering by demurrs, dissents and protests has been thrown every obstacle he could devise to impede the currency of the public business, Mr. Francis has been more moderate and has rather assisted than obstructed the dispatch of Business. The expiration of the

leases which approach fast, obliges the Government to look forward to a future settlement of the revenue. Much has been said on this topic by the Governor, Mr. Francis and myself. I shall send the papers to my sister where you may peruse them, for to abstract them is impossible unless I make my letter a volume. The Governor and myself are for rating the lands by the most accurate accounts we can procure and fencing the Ryott against all arbitrary cesses which may be attempted by the zemindar. Mr. Francis is for proceeding summarily. His general principles are just, but unless the Riott is protected and secured, the country will not be relieved, as the lightness of the tax paid to Government will only enrich the zemindars without benefiting the commonalty. Nothing material besides has occurred in the internal Government unless the replacing the Phowdsar of Hughly and the Dewan of the Calcutta Zillah and Paishcar of the Khalsah may be termed so. These men were turned out by the Majority because they would not vilify the Governor, and the Governor has now restored them—he has likewise restored Mr. Cowper who was superseded by the incendiary James Grant to his station and has ordered James Grant to act in his former capacity of assistant. These though very moderate acts of justice to people who were highly injured will, I dare say, be stiled oppressive and factious and sacrifices of the public interest to the gratification of personal pique and resentment.

No. 517.

MRS. MARY BARWELL,

CALCUTTA,

The 25th November, 1776.

MY DEAR SISTER,

Mr. Miller filled with gratitude for the favour he has received at your hands pressed me extremely to allow of his making you some acknowledgment for the obligation he lays under—his wish in this particular was urged with so much importunity that I could not decline a compliance with it, and in consequence promised, him I would not only present you with some jewel in his name to the value of two hundred pounds, but that I would insist with you upon the acceptance of it. This is the point he alludes to in his short note, so that you will please to charge the sum in my account to your benefit and upon your reply to him through me I will receive the same sum of him here—this is not meant in exclusion of any expence you may have incurred but superadded.

[*Private.*]

No. 518.

JOHN ROBINSON, ESQ.,

CALCUTTA,

The 25th November, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

In my letter of September last I told you I was almost determined upon leaving Bengal, my health and situation being inducements equally strong to influence such a step, but an alteration in the latter from the unexpected death of Colonel Monson with the urgent instances of the Governor-General has inclined me to forego that design to afford him my assistance and support in the important and interesting, business that is now under contemplation, the settlement of the revenues which must take place at the expiration of the 5 years' leases in April next. To leave the country at a crisis so critical I have considered might be, with just reason, imputed to motives improper to influence my conduct and impeach me of a neglect or disregard to those duties which by a change in the circumstances of the Government have fallen to my share. At a time when I could not act, a retreat might be made from a regard to personal ease and health, without my incurring reproach by such a step that time past and myself in a different predicament, I have no longer the same latitude of choice. However let me assure you, and through you my Lord North, that as I never had nor ever shall have any other object than the service of my country by continuing in my station, all my attention will be given to that one object and in the mode in which it may prove most agreeable to the ruling power to direct. It is not my province to judge what measures Government shall adopt but to render my services in the line in which they can be useful and promotive of the views to be accomplished. I need not tell you I shall feel an obligation from your confidential communications and for such a favourable construction of the part I act as may insure me the countenance of your powerful friends.

Not long after I had written to you my former letter, an occasion happily offered to place Mr. Wordsworth in a station in the commercial line from which he will draw about £stg. 150 in addition to the salary and allowances he enjoys in common with the other servants of the Company. I seized this first opportunity to give him some little matter to enable him to bear the expence he must necessarily incur. It is a mere temporary expedient to support him without his being impelled to contract debts and, I flatter myself, will be sufficient to that end more especially as I have lodged him in my family and he is subjected simply to personal expence, until an opportunity presents (which must soon be the case) of which I can avail myself to remove him to the Revenue Establishment and fix him in a more eligible situation.

No. 519.

HENRY SAVAGE, ESQ.,

CALCUTTA,

The 27th November, 1776.

DEAR SIR,

Discouraged by the prospect before me, presented by a Faction and with my health much impaired, I had in contemplation a retreat from scenes painful to my feeling and destructive of my quiet, when an accident not looked for (the demise of Colonel Monson) with the pressing instances of the Governor for my stay determined me to hold my station and give him my assistance in the present important crisis. Without support in the arduous and interesting object to which his attention is now given, the new settlement of the Revenues, which is to take place in April next, all his endeavours must have proved ineffectual, and even with my support it does not by any means appear to me certain he will be insured success in his undertaking. As General Clavering and Mr. Francis are averse and oppose and counteract him to the utmost of their power and influence. Without inquiring, without investigating the state of the lands, these gentlemen are at once for making a material reduction in the Company's Revenue and of throwing the collections without check or restraint in the hands of the zemindars upon the simple plea of the lands being overrated and the policy of drawing no more from the country than may barely suffice to support the establishment and send home an investment of 60 lacks. The Governor and myself subscribe to the opinion that some reduction may be necessary to secure the permanency of the future revenue, but contend that unless the lands are equitably rated and the taxes equally paid and the rights of the cultivator of the soil fenced and secured against the encroachments of the zemindar, such a measure can be productive of no good, but fraught with consequences equally pernicious to the Company's interest and to the prosperity of the provinces, because we deny that the country will be eased by the moderation of Government in a light assessment of the zemindars, if the zemindars themselves are not effectually checked and controlled in the rates at which they may assess the cultivator of the soil, that, unless this is done, the taxes levied on the husbandman will be as burdensome as ever and continue to be exacted with as much rigor—with this difference only that instead of going into the public treasury the surplus will be diverted to enrich the zemindars. That the idea of relief to the industrious poor being necessarily continued with lowering the assessments on the zemindars is a mistaken speculation. A personal and too powerful interest operates to influence them to draw the utmost from their tenants, and such is the state of landed property through the whole peninsula of India that to expect the zemindars to relinquish voluntarily any of the established taxes

however grievous, would be to hope that which experience, knowledge and observation contradict. The first measure, therefore, was to rate the lands if practicable—the next to form such restrictive rules as in their operation should give security to all ranks of men and preserving the necessary dependance of all orders in a progressive gradation to the meanest classes of the people, fence the rights of each from encroachment. Difficult as this task must prove, yet unless it was undertaken and effected, it would be vain to look for the happy consequences professed in Mr. Francis's speculations. As the condition of the laboring part of the kingdom would remain in the same state, whatever revenue might be drawn by the Company, the great object therefore was to amend their condition, and this must be done by means more adequate than simply subjecting the people to the will and caprice of their Zemindars, whom Mr. Francis proposes to invest with all power upon the loose principle that both policy and interest must bind them to a just and moderate conduct in the management of their own estates. This though just in theory, the history of every nation tells us is not to be found in practice. Review the different states of the world from the prince to the lord of a single acre, and will the prospect warrant his conclusion. With the power of doing injuries, will every man or the generality of men be just? Sure it would be weakness to argue that depravity is gone from human nature because it is the interest and happiness of man not to be depraved. But after all if the task proposed is so very difficult and the obstructions Faction may throw in its way so insuperable that it cannot be executed, the easy flowery path Mr. Francis has chosen and is supported in by General Clavering, may at any time be reverted to, for the proposition he makes goes no further than simply a retrenchment of the Company's income upon speculation of its proving ultimately a relief to the country. A thousand arguments occur to expose the futility of such reveries—these I suppress as I know they must naturally arise to your mind whenever you may be pleased to give the subject a serious consideration.

No. 520.

MRS. MARY BARWELL,

CALCUTTA,

The 27th November, 1776.

MY DEAR SISTER,

I enclose letters for Mr. Robinson and Mr. Savage and particularly for the information of the latter, the several papers under cover. You will perceive by a Minute of the Governor, with what unremitting perseverance the old gentleman Clavering attempts to distract and perplex all publick

business. The most unexceptionable acts in the common routine of affairs, nay even those which merit praise, are to him subjects of controversy and perverted to charges against the Governor, and, I believe, there are not less than three or four score of dissents and protests upon such points as those I have given myself the trouble to answer and upon as bad and false grounds.—It seems to matter not to him what he says, for determined at all events to find fault, he gives the most specious turn he can to his aspersions, and is not ever solicitous in adhering to truth in any of his writings, wherever he conceives an artifice or subtlety that may avail him to represent in false lights the most simple transactions. Let his conduct be impartially examined, and if this picture is found to do him injustice, I will submit to the most degrading acknowledgment for the injurious opinion I entertain of his motive and principle of conduct. Mr. Francis is more guarded and more circumspect, and this flattered me for some time past, since the party was broke by the death of Colonel Monson, he would not persist in the systematic opposition in which he had been engaged—but I was mistaken. A deeper policy regulates his conduct than I immediately perceived, for on inspecting his opinions, I find in all matters to which he has acquiesced, he has pointedly fixt the responsibility on the Governor, etc., and under the pretext of consistency in all points on which he says he has committed himself, he uniformly opposes—So artful, no small degree of caution is necessary to penetrate the veil his actions wear and that his principle may not be mistaken where he is found in opposition—the unwearied observer should be prepared to mark it with distrust and to canvas it with a critical nicety, or he may be deceived.

The distractions on the Coast of Coromandell which have so far exceeded our *little* disputes—by the latest advices—assume a portentous aspect, but whether the apprehensions expressed by that Government of Lord Pigot's endeavours to involve the Carnatic in a civil war is founded in fact, I cannot pretend to determine. His residence on the Coast after his expulsion from the chair it is most certain can answer no purpose but to distract and disturb the Government. The gentlemen of Madras have desired our opinion about sending His Lordship to Europe. We have replied the necessity of such a measure can alone be determined by the circumstances under which it may be resolved—that our Government cannot authorise such an act, nor advise in a matter in which theirs is competent and must be solely responsible—the peace and good order of their internal Government resting entirely in themselves, and totally independent of our powers—but should disturbances arise and a war be kindled to subvert the constitution of their Government as established by Charter, the most effectual aid will be afforded in support and preservation of the Government legally constituted,—that, however, it depends on themselves to obviate the mischiefs they dread and adopt and

execute what in their judgment may be essential for the prevention of an evil of such magnitude.

I know not on whom the Company will fix the blame of these extraordinary scenes ; they certainly had their rise from the imperious spirit of Pigot, unregulated by those conciliating arts which under different circumstances are necessary, and without which no man (whatever else his talents may be) is fit to be at the head of a free Government—unmindful of the circumstances of the times and not distinguishing between his former sway when common dangers influenced cheerful acquiescence to a military despotic rule—and the situation of the Carnatic upon his return to it. He is fallen the victim of his own imprudence. Pity we may his fate, but can we acquit him of the indiscretion that produced it ? Be not alarmed at this or any other intelligence from the East in so great a degree as to be induced to sell out of the India stocks at a loss. The Company's pecuniary health is good, though their political health may be diseased. You will hear from all quarters of the troops sent out by France. In the course of this year the private adventurers who all sailed their ships with English money, all brought out some military to the Islands and Pondicherry, and the French ships now in this River number 2,500 Europeans under the denomination of sailors, and these people are actually at Chandernagore as are all their ships, but the number of sail I do not recollect. The military establishment at Pondicherry is very much increased, and I think from appearances the French meditate some blow on the Carnatic. Why not against Bengal ? A thousand difficulties almost insuperable oppose them here—there they have a place of arms, can collect their force by degrees—here they must bring every thing and at once by shipping subjected to almost the same obstructions to fix themselves as an invader who has no establishment in the country.

No. 521.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

CALCUTTA,

The December 1776.

MY DEAR SISTER,

I did not write over-land in the persuasion that letters would be as speedily and more safely conveyed to you by the Company's packets, besides as the Governor's dispatches will, of course, be submitted to you the deficiency on my part was not material. I gave to Mr. Cobham and Lieutenant Metcalfe, two of the gentlemen who take the rout of Egypt, letters to you merely introductory. I note this circumstance that you may not be led to conceive yourself bound by those letters to acts of kindness subjecting your

to the least difficulty; if it falls in your way to promote the views of either without laying yourself under obligation, it is all I propose, for you will probably find them disposed if they can be useful to assist me in their limited line of life, and such dispositions ought in prudence to be cherished.

The reliance I have on your address and confidence in your management is such that I rest my success implicitly on your prudence and repeat my injunction to you to make such use of my fortune as may in your opinion be conducive to my prosperity. It is superfluous to say more to you on this subject: you have full latitude to act in the manner your own discretion dictates. Be assured that I shall be satisfied with whatever you may do in prosecuting my views. A proper application of little presents pleasing in a degree expressive of the attention of the presenter has often given a surprising influence to those who have taken such means to interest people of consequence and sway in the Government, and must I apprehend still avail if they are not of that magnitude as to give impressions of a wrong nature, for the whole act of doing such things is comprized in two words *delicacy* and *manner*, and who is there that is not susceptible of acts of esteem and respect? In this idea and in an opinion that you may be too good a steward to risk a little of my fortune on so precarious an experiment, I repeat what I have before urged on this subject, and that you may be confident of my full approbation. I have dwelt thus long on a matter which fewer words under different circumstances would have sufficed to recommend to you. The filling up the vacancy in the Superior Council if I am allowed to continue a member of it, is an object of some importance to me exclusive of the notion generally entertained that a person is degraded who on such an occasion has another placed above him. Be therefore attentive to this point and keep in your mind that to my friend Fred. Stuart alone I can yield my pretension. My attachment to him and the propriety of my Lord Bute's placing his son in the Council above me will reconcile me to the measure, but I know no one else under whom I could act without regret. Small as my hope is of succeeding Hastings, the very ill state of General Clavering's health renders me solicitous to step up as near to him as possible. I really think the General's life very precarious, and should the climate be as unfavourable to him as it has proved this season, I should stand in the most eligible situation my most sanguine wishes could place me in under the Government, and, although the difficulty would be unsurmountable of obtaining an appointment from England, yet if I was in the chair, all circumstances considered the possession of it might be confirmed to me, and the Minister, whoever he might be, pleased with having me there.

The prosperous state of the Company in Bengal will not, I hope, be fatal to Mr. Hastings and myself. Yet it is a common policy to forget services

when the immediate occasion on which they benefitted the State is past, and I confess I am fearful the prosperity of the Company may be an argument that our further services are not wanted nor are necessary. However, this may be, the political interests of the British Governments in Asia must be regulated by local knowledge and experience, but whether Ministry will chuse to avail himself of that local knowledge is a question I cannot pretend to answer to myself, for under many circumstances, I am sensible particular people must be gratified, and in those cases every other consideration will yield to the influence of superior family connections.

Twenty months ago General Clavering, etc., declared the Company on the brink of ruin, and an exhausted treasury an immense debt and a decreasing revenue were incessantly declaimed upon. Nor was this imposition given up at the dispatch of the *Syren* packet, for in the advices by that vessel the General attempted to pervert facts and impress an idea that the wealth of the Company in Bengal was all imaginary—a fallacy I took the trouble to expose at the time, and it is now rendered so glaring as to be beyond the power of art to vindicate or palliate the misrepresentation then attempted. For the Company have at this moment in their Treasury at Calcutta about 60 lacks of rupees and have paid off all their bonded debt to about 10 lacks and in the Treasuries of the Provincial Councils there is upwards of 40 lacks more, so that after paying all their debts *they* have a ballance in cash of *a million sterling* and in goods such as woollen, salt and opium half a million more. An estate this instant in hand of one million and half exclusive of all their dead stock. This being the real state of facts which sophistry can neither involve nor question, the cry is changed from ruin in the apprehended bankruptcy of the Company, to ruin from the superfluity of their wealth. The country is ruined and the treasure locked up has exhausted the circulating specie—thus direct contradictions afford argument to condemn Mr. H. and myself. Yet when we propose to throw the specie back into circulation, encourage manufactures, and increase the investments for Europe, we are opposed upon the principle of its being subversive of the foreign trade—as if it was not one of the first and great objects of the nation to out purchase the Dutch, French, &c., rivals of the Company and render Britain the great Emporium for the vend of Bengal goods. The notion that bullion is introduced by the rival Companies of France, Holland and Denmark is ridiculous and absurd—they are one and all the carriers for the English, and will continue so while there remains a single lac of private property in this country waiting only for an opportunity of remittance, but should the Dutch, French, &c., be once out purchased by us, and have no inducement to continue their competition in the Bengal trade, private property here will find its way in different channels to the other

Presidencies and to China, where it will both aid and assist the Company—whereas it now operates essentially against their interests—particularly by promoting the French Commerce and with it a naval power that could by no other means be supported in the East, without subjecting the Crown of France to an expence enormous and intolerable—whereas we have this last year seen introduced by French adventurers a formidable fleet and 3,000 recruits at least and this with a very trifling charge to that Crown. In these sentiments should Mr. H. and myself have sway in the Council, we propose after laying by 35 lacks for exigencies to increase the investment for Europe to the utmost and enlarge the supplies to Bombay, and agreeably to this plan we have voted the investment of next year 105 lacks of rupees.

The distracted state of the Madras Government will possibly render some pecuniary aid from Bengal necessary ; I wish this may not be the case for I know not in what manner Madras can be supplied without sending specie. The political state of the Indian powers remains the same except on the coast of Coromandell, which is much weakend by the separation of Tanjore and the distresses consequent to that measure from the inability of the Nabob, to pay his troops. Late private advices inform us that one of the choicest bodies of horse in the Nabob's service on the plea of arrears, have gone off to the Mysore country and joined Hyderally. This the Nabob's enemies impute to contrivance and to the influence of some secret practices he has in foot with Hyder to shake off his dependence on the English Government. It is most true that Lord Pigot's measures have given him ample cause for dissatisfaction, but it would be injurious both to the Nabob's good sense and policy to suppose such an imputation just. The Nabob is fully aware of the enterprizing spirit of the Mysore Chief, his own defenceless state if unsupported by the English, and likewise of Hyder's having obtained by treaty with the Mahratta state of grant of the Carnatic. Under these circumstances is it consistent with reason to imagine he would lay himself at the mercy of Hyder—and this after the severe test to which his patience has been put in the Tanjore business and in the various mortifications he has suffered in the period of a few months? Sure if any such thoughts had influenced his policy it would have been adopted at the instant he was struggling with his feeling and under such complicated mortifications as he has experienced, and not in his cooler moments and after he had made his appeal to the justice of the English Government for redress. Had he ever framed such a design, it would be a folly to suppose he would have weakend his power first by parting with Tanjore and then opposed himself to the English Government. I have no correspondence or acquaintance with the Nabob ; of course my judgment is unbiased by favor or prejudice and formed simply on the facts which have arisen in his Government, and these carry no appearance of his alienation from the English interest.

Enclosed I send you a minute and motion in favor of Mr. Croftes our Accomptant-General. The importance of the office rendered it necessary to annex to it an adequate salary, and as it appeared to me to be the wish of the Directors that something should be done for Mr. Croftes whose merit and services entitle him to the consideration of the Company, I was less scrupulous in laying his pretensions before the Board and of securing to him some compensation for his past and future laborious services. This matter being particularly pointed out in the General Letter to have originated with me, I desired Mr. Croftes to write his friends to secure an approbation from the Court of Directors : this he will naturally do and recommend to his friends who have some weight to draw with you in any thing that may be proposed for my advantage.

Mr. Mackenzie who was recommended to me by yourself, by F. Stuart, Lords Sandwich and Rochford, I have the pleasure to inform you, has been by the Governor and myself gratified with the appointment of Custom Master, and Mr. Bathurst, Lord Apsley's relation, with an appointment under Mr. Middleton to the Court of Asoph-ul-Doula. Captain Primrose Thompson, particularly introduced to me by letter from Governor Johnstone, to the post of Quarter Master General of the troops commanded by British officers in the service of the Nabob of Oude. As I have not written to Governor Johnstone, please make my compliments to him and tell him I am happy to have had it so early in my power to shew the sense I have of his friendship and support, and that he may depend my attention to Captain Thompson will be unremitted under all circumstances.

No. 522.

TO MRS MARY BARWELL.

CALCUTTA,

The 12th February, 1777.

MY DEAR SISTER,

Just after closing my letter in December 1776, I got my brother Daniel the appointment of Assistant to the Resident at Benares. His low rank in the Company's Service, his unacquaintance with all publick business, his youth and inexperience determined me to check my wishes and content myself with introducing him to a secure [station] that would prepare and fit him for the discharge of greater trusts in the more important stations of the service; for as he had hitherto been employed in no publick line, exception would justly have been taken to a brother's partiality had I placed him in so conspicuous a point of view, that the whole Service had looked up to him with envy and impatience. Besides this reason, I found the Governor so desirous

of making some return to Mr. Graham whose conduct in England merited from us both, that I became as anxious as himself to testify the sense we entertained of it by some act of kindness to his brother Mr. Thomas Graham. Daniel is not satisfied with holding the second station, because he says by my influence he could have had the first, for under the present circumstances he remarked it was not to have been denied to me had I urged it for him to the Governor. To this I answered, he ought to be sensible fraternal affection must be a strong and powerful advocate for him with me, and that he might safely rely on a principle that must render me extremely anxious for his welfare. I then bid him to recollect this was his very first step into life, that he had hitherto declined attendance on any of the public offices and totally unqualified by ignorance of all forms of business. How could I at once propose him for so important a public charge as that given to Mr. Graham? A third of the advantages of the Residency I had secured for him, and hereafter I hoped to answer his highest expectations in some other appointment. It was necessary however that he should qualify himself to second my endeavours or nothing could result from them, for, though I gave him the means to make his way to independence, the advantage he might make of those means would depend entirely on his own knowledge and abilities. I cannot say this expostulation had so full an effect as I had flattered myself it would have. He appeared disappointed, but this advantage, I think, will derive from it, it will make him exert himself and employ those talents hitherto lost in dissipation to this proper object. The best parts possessed by a man who is to fabricate his own fortunes are defective if he bends them not to those pursuits in life on which his prosperity depends.

By the vessells just arrived from China, I have reason to apprehend a disappointment to you in the receipt of Mercer's bond, for I understood he has failed in the means of supplying the cash from which his Attorneys were to pay it. as I before wrote so expressly that any protested bills or others securities not answered should be immediately returned to enable me to recover on them in Bengal. I flatter myself no sooner will Mercer's bond become due than payment will have been demanded, and, if refused, that the protest and bonds will have been sent back by the first opportunity. I had much dependance on this man, but frequent disappointments have instilled doubts that influence me to take the best means I can to secure myself in this country without relying upon him any further for the payment of his engagements in England. Besides I consider the terms of remittance are not more advantageous than I may hereafter procure and that the interest and penalty to be recovered from Mr. Mercer will be some compensation for my disappointment. Neither Price's nor Mercer's money coming into your hands deprives me of a large sum I had relied upon in England. This with my deeds

of gift to you and Fanny lower of course very considerably the fortune I hoped I had realised by this time in Europe, and makes me more anxious about Sir George Colebrooke's securities than otherwise should have been. Do then, my dear Friend, be a little alert inclosing our concerns with Sir George, for should I have drawbacks on my fortune after I leave this country, my not having reckoned upon them will pinch me in the degree they were not expected.

I enclose a letter from my friend, Charles Purling, and my answer to it. After 5 months and just as the Chiefship of Dacca was on the point of being vacated for him and the intimation given to Mr. Rous that he must quit, I was surprized with this letter. I hope, however, Charles Purling will have no reason to lament his varying his pursuit, though I much doubt whether he will find the object he looks to, when he shall obtain it to compensate him for the sacrifice now made to his fears. As I apprehend it will not be in my power to write to his uncle. Pray explain these particulars to him. I did all in my power to fix the Governor and secure Dacca for his nephew. The point was accomplished, he saw the propriety of standing to his first nomination and answering the expectations of Purling's friends, who had bestirred themselves in establishing that nomination against Mr. Rous put in by the then Majority in Bengal over the head of Purling. Rous had been spoken to, and had sent orders for transporting his household furniture from Dacca in the expectation of an immediate recall, when on the instant this letter of Charles Purling arrives and determines the Governor to retract and not proceed in a measure which would have given great offence to Rous's friends and appeared not very acceptable to the person who was to have been served by it.

The instructions I gave respecting the purchase of India stock has I hope not been neglected, for as the accounts from hence will so far exceed the most sanguine expectations, so must the profits on such purchases any idea you could have entertained of them. The enclosed amount is simply to exhibit to you the wealth in our different treasuries. No less a sum than fourteen millions eight hundred thousand rupees in specie, exclusive of this is the salt, opium, woollens, copper, &c., amounting to about five millions—Such a vast mass of riches in *actual possession* in Bengal, must confound all the abominable falsifications that have been industriously propagated, and render all classes of men more cautious in believing the tales of a Faction and doubting the veracity of men who never yet deceived the public in their representations. The vast excess of the Company's present wealth beyond my estimate I have not yet had time to examine into, and therefore cannot ascertain the causes it springs from, but imagine I must have rated

the Company's expences higher than they are in reality and their income lower.

*Extract of a letter from MR. CHARLES PURLING to MR. BARWELL,
dated Dacca, the 3rd February 1777.*

I doubt not when you received the Governor's note mentioned in your letter, you were acquainted with the cause of it or have been since. I am far from declining any promotion your or the Governor's, kindness may extend me, but judging that if I am to profit by it, it will be necessary to contrive my appointment so as to be permanent, and that whether I remain here Chief or Acting Chief till you get the expected intelligence from Europe, it can make no difference to my friends, though it may be a very considerable one to me. I did not hesitate to write to Mr. Hastings concerning the Chittagong Chiefship. Your own reason must dictate that my choice (if I was not afraid of an after-blow) would be fixed upon Dacca, particularly because Chittagong would not be very agreeable to me without an assistant of my own. But as Mr. Law may not be removed long before your packet arrives give me leave to request the favor of you to endeavor to keep both Chittagong and Dacca unfilled up, and when you act advices, fix upon Chittagong and Dacca as may be most likely to turn out to a real and lasting benefit instead of a temporary one—for you cannot suppose that Rous will not be immediately reinstated. If Ministerial influence should operate to your and the Governor's disadvantage, an event my own wishes and interests naturally lead me to deprecate. Chittagong however I scarce think even the General will remove me from. This is all that has struck me upon the subject, and I hope you will forgive a fear concerning my future interests; believe me, were I at all independent, one of the greatest objects I could have would be to quit India when you did, and I should not hesitate an instant about taking the Dacca Chiefship. Rous has written to Holland, that the appointments would take place in a day or two and begging he would send down all his things; a letter arrived last night directed to me Chief of Dacca from Mr. Collings, and all the settlement have been to congratulate me on my appointment. If it should still be your idea that all the appointments cannot take place and that Rous cannot be removed nor I continue here Acting Chief till the Ameen shall have completed his business, I wish you to pursue your own opinion and I am ready to accompany you to old England if any thing sinister happens. I have given you the motives for my request to the Governor—act as you and he think proper.

*Extract of a letter from MR. BARWELL TO CHARLES PURLING, ESQ.,
dated Calcutta, the 7th February 1777.*

Your letter which I have submitted to the Governor must I think, determine him with respect to Rous. Indeed he told me he should send for him this morning and inform him that as you looked another way he was no longer under the obligation of his former nomination of you to the Chiefship and to which he had before hinted to him he must give place. To keep the door open for you in the manner you wanted, or in any manner was impracticable without incurring the same ill will from Mr. Rous's friends as by an actual removal of him—for it being declared he must give place to you, it follows that without revoking such declaration he must have deemed himself in fact removed and under that impression have influenced his friends. The counter declaration therefore was unavoidable, though if no declaration of his removal had been made, you might have continued and the matter been subsequently taken up in your favor. But as it is you reduced the Governor and myself to this simple alternative—to step forward in a thing you yourself could not resolve upon and seemed rather apprehensive of—or to step back—and make a merit both to ourselves and to you of not being hostile to Rous, though in the circumstances you stood and we conceived ourselves bound to promote you and remove him, if you had not offered the alternative by looking another way (to Chittagong) and enabled us to convince him we were by no means ill disposed to him. I need not tell you I am chagrined at that indcision in you which has reduced you to confine your future views to Chittigong for it is probable Law may not these many months be called to the Board of Trade all which time you must remain in expectation, and before the period arrives your friends may be out of power, though that I do not apprehend will be the case, but it is possible.

No. 523.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

CALCUTTA,

The 14th February, 1776.

MY DEAR SISTER,

Allow me to introduce to your acquaintance Mr. Isaac Sage a gentleman who has been long known to me and for whom I have a personal esteem—and at the same time to express a wish (which I found on the general opinion of Mrs. Sage's happy qualities, and the particular friendship the worthy Mr. James Barton entertains for her) that you may cultivate her acquaintance and become mutually endeared to each other. I am not myself

happy in her acquaintance owing to her having scarcely resided at all in Calcutta and to my engagements which have only allowed of my calling at her house twice, neither of which times I had the pleasure to find her at home. Sage will send my letter to you by express from the first port at which the ship arrives.

No. 524.

TO HENRY SAVAGE, ESQ.

CALCUTTA,

The 11th February, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

I mentioned to you in my former letters an attempt to impose on the Company and the public by a false state of your treasuries and assets in Bengal, and at the same time sent you a just estimate of the real wealth of that Government, and an estimate of the ballance that would be in hand the 10th April 1777, calculated at twenty four millions, nine hundred and eight thousand, eight hundred and sixty-nine rupees. The enclosed account from authentic official papers shew that on the 6th of this month February 1777, the Company's nett estate, not including any part of their dead stock, amounted to twenty-two millions three hundred and forty-eight thousand and ten rupees fifteen annas and nine pice. A monstrous mass of riches, especially when it is considered that fifteen millions two hundred and nine thousand one hundred and sixty rupees twelve annas and six pice of this heap, may be said to be actual specie, *vis.* :—

	Rs.	A.	P.
Provincial Treasuries	43,37,750	12	6
Calcutta General and Revenue Treasuries	82,58,441	11	9
Bills of Exchange accepted by different Bankers the same as money in hand	7,67,570	1	3
	90,26,011	13	0
	1,33,63,762	9	6
Ballance of cash in the hands of the Resident of Oude, the 17th January 1777. Oude siccas 3 lacs or current rupees. (<i>N.B.</i> —This not included in the Treasuries account but taken from the Resident's letters of advice)	3,30,000	0	0
Commercial Treasuries	15,15,398	3	0
In specie or bullion nett amount 6th February 1777	1,52,09,160	12	6

Thus circumstanced it remains no longer in the power of faction to veil the truth, as all doubts hitherto expressed of the fairness of the calculations sent home by Mr. Hastings and myself, are now at an end. You see and know that you actually possess at this instant the full amount and more than we gave you reason to expect would be forthcoming at this period, and having established the credit of our representations on this important point, it will, I flatter myself, caution the impartial to be more circumspect in their belief, and to deny their assent to the idle stories invented and promulgated to impose on the public, without the fullest and clearest evidence of facts to support and authenticate such stories. Assured that men who had the confidence and effrontery to aver this Government to be in an actual state of bankruptcy at the time it was sending to Europe investments of 80 lacs per annum, paying off all its debts and rising fast to its present state of affluence, will not scruple the same insidious arts, in less material concerns, to depreciate their adversaries and lower their characters in the publick estimation.

The large sum now in possession, and the increasing wealth of this Government call loudly upon the Directors to adopt some measures to realize their property in England, and as they cannot discredit the evidence of their own senses, the necessity of increasing the tonnage to be returned from this port will be obvious. Mr. Hastings and myself have hitherto limited the investment to the amount we supposed you would have shipping to transport, but this year we have supplied one crore five lacs for goods in expectation, that finding more credit with you for the representations we had made, you would increase the number of your ships—depending on an increase of your investments as a consequence of your increasing wealth. Should you still disappoint us, I know not by what means we shall be able to return back the money into circulation. It will be death to the country to accumulate a mass of useless treasure. And the hoarding it, or sending it out of the country, is nearly the same, for what does not circulate is as much lost as if it did not exist. In short I would recommend to you to send peremptory orders to increase your provision of goods to 120 lacs, and sooner than keep a larger sum than 70 lacs of exigencies, direct an additional provision of 20 lacs of ready money goods, and in order to obviate any chicane in such purchases, instruct your Board of Trade to publish your intention of making them, directing the merchants who have goods to offer, to deliver in their proposals sealed with musters of the goods they are inclined to dispose of, and further, instruct your Board to put their seals to the musters by which the purchases are made, accompanying the parcells with the musters, by which they are bought, that you yourselves may be the Judges whether favor or partiality has been shown to the vendors

by the acceptance of goods inferior to the samples on which they were agreed, for it will possibly be urged that the extension of your investments must prove detrimental to the commercial interests of the country, by your engrossing all the manufactures of it. People who reason in this manner, have very false ideas of the nature of manufactures, which increase in all nations in proportions to the demand they are in and the encouragements the arts receive. It is an absurd and ridiculous notion to say, it will not do so far be assured, and you will find it a truth, that the more goods you export, the more will be fabricated, and that the people are not so blind to their own interests, as to neglect their looms, because they find a readier vend for their labors. This addition of 60 lacs to your Bengal investment, will not however return as much specie as ought to be returned to the circulation, and therefore in addition to it, your orders of supply to Bombay and Bencoolen ought to be enlarged, and contracts for cotton and other goods tin, &c., to supply China, be recommended to your servants at Bombay and here. By this means your Malabar and Surat Trades will revive and the adventurers to the Straights of Malacca from this Port encouraged, as in the Straights alone, tin is to be procured for China. But if the remittances to Bombay cannot be increased without sending bullion, an attention to the prosperity of Bengal requires those remittances not to be increased by these means, in addition to the wealth you have annually drawn from Bengal I propose 90 lacs of rupees, *vis.* :—

		Lacs.
The addition to the Bengal investment	...	60
Addition to the Bombay and Bencoolen supplies	...	30
		—
Total	...	90
		—

Imagine not on a superficial review this is beyond all bounds, and what can never be made good from hence—look only into your affairs, and you will find from October 1774 to February 1777 two years three months. The Bond debt, Restitution, &c., debts amounting at the least to one crore and half of rupees, have been extinguished—Bombay doubly supplied—80 lacs annually sent home—and after all a ballance at this instant in hand of two crore twenty three lacs of rupees. I will now only ask if these facts are established beyond a possibility of cavil—if they are, the ability of this Government to supply 90 lacs in addition to what was supplied the last year cannot be doubted, and after laying by 70 lacs for exigencies, still have it in its power to lower the rents of lands, and ease the burthens of the people,

in the degree that may be necessary to the prosperity of the country. I desire you and the world to give me no more credit for these assertions, than may be clear and evident to your own senses, on an inspection of the authentic accounts and records of the India house, and I will engage myself to answer to the full of what I affirm any future day if I should be called into a station that may render it incumbent on me.

You may recollect my being singular in the opinion I gave on the military establishment proposed for the Nabob Asoph-ul-Dowla, *vis.* :—that the troops and officers should be ours, but in the pay of the Nabob, and that any other system was fraught with variety of evils. The justness of this opinion is too well verified by the subsequent scenes of tumult, confusion and rapacity. The introduction of the General's plan as might be foreseen raised a general spirit of discontent and mutiny. How could it be expected that men, who had been accustomed to command the Nabob's forces, would readily acquiesce to a deprivation of their commands, and continue with their troops without forming some scheme and engaging in some intrigues to recover those commands? Not a little blood has been spilt to suppress this spirit. Yet all was to no effect, till the refractory battalions were reformed and new ones raised. However, even in the present state of this Force under British officers, submission to discipline is extremely defective. The looseness of the General's plan in all its parts—the leaving the charges of the troops at large to be regulated by the Nabob, Captain Webber and Mr. Bristow, can only be reconciled to reason on a supposition that he extended it as a particular harvest for Webber—a parasite, with [neither] abilities, [n]or a single good quality to recommend him, for I reckon not a servile obsequious. in the number of virtues that reflect lustre on the human character. This man from his first appointment by the General to the period the command was given to Colonel Goddard, drew seven thousand rupees in monthly allowances, exclusive of the perquisites of his command, which he regulated upon the plan of the Governor-General's troop of cavalry in Calcutta. This troop has always been on an establishment, by the purchase and feeding of the horses, to be a provision for the commandant of it, and to enable him at the end of two or three years, to retire with a small competency—it consists of 100 horse in number. The Regiment Captain Webber has put on this footing he has made 730 strong, he has commanded it two years, and has of course drawn perquisites annually to 730 times the amount of the Governor's Body Guard. Now if the Body Guard of 100 men, as I suppose it does, gives 40,000 rupees per annum to the Commandant, Captain Webber for his Regiment received a benefit of 2,92,000 rupees per annum or 6 lacs to the present instant, exclusive of his 7,000 rupees per mensem, as Brevet Major, Adjutant General, Aid-de-Camp, etc., etc. Clavering, I know, will defend this mulcting

of the Nabob, by the precedent of the Governor-General's Body Guard establishment, but when it is considered, that Mr. Webber had 7,000 rupees per month pay and allowances, and that the raising, disciplining and regulating the expence of the horse for the Nabob's service was confided to him, his rapacity in rejecting the most economic establishment to introduce an extravagant one for his own advantage, will condemn him. Nor will the plea of precedent avail Clavering in excuse for his injustice to the Nabob, and to the public service with no other view than to fill the pockets of his creatures. If I am truly informed Mr. Webber has made more in his two years' command of the Nabob's horse, than I have in the course of 19 years services in Bengal. The regulations of the military under the command of our officers in the service of the Nabob, having become an object of such magnitude, the Governor has turned his thoughts to it for some months past, and I flatter myself, in a few days a plan will be complete, and in readiness to lay before the Board.

A letter lately received from Mr. Bristow enclosing a state of the Nabob's forces, with a very inaccurate estimate of their expense, will show you in a striking light, the inattention of that gentleman to the only object to which he should have been attentive. It exhibits a picture that must at once alarm and surprize—surprize, because it is to be understood from his former letters that the Nabob had reduced his military, and checked his expences by a more economic regulation—and alarm, because such a body as one hundred and odd thousand troops will not submit to be defrauded of their pay, but will naturally attempt to do themselves justice—under which circumstances, we must either be quiet spectators of a revolution in the Government, or found into the abominable alternative of butchering a number of poor soldiers for demanding their right. The idea is too horrible to dwell upon. We must attempt, and, I hope, we have time to avert this impending mischief, but as for Mr. Bristow I think him inexcusable. He could remonstrate loudly and indecently enough to the Nabob on less material subjects, and foolishly propose the limitation of his personal expences in a manner that came so near to the condition of the Nabob of Bengal on our first acquiring the Dewannee, that no wonder he rejected the proposition and was filled with distrust, and this jealousy may, I fear, counteract our best intentions. It is most certain the Nabob seeks all occasions to set this Government at variance with Nuzziff Cawn—and his weakness, brutality, and want of every principle, leads me to think, he may, when least expected, break out into some mad and rash action. It is most certain he is very apprehensive of our intercourse with Nuzziff Cawn, and uses every art to frustrate the mutual endeavors of this Government and of Nuzziff Cawn to treat on the terms of a future alliance. He is not such a fool to be blind to

the advantages we should draw from such an alliance, and the check it would be upon him, when on a future day he might mediate a blow against the English. A chief of Nuzziff Cawn's abilities on his back, in friendship with us, will always keep him to his good behaviour. But if he can create differences between Nuzziff Cawn and our Government, and draw Nuzziff Cawn to himself, he will have nothing to apprehend, and be at liberty to act against us on any favourable occasion. However fair appearances may be between our Government and Nabob, it is not possible he should regard as in any other light than enemies. Thus circumstanced, in whatever point of view the attempt to bind Nuzziff Cawn to us may be represented by Clavering, the attempt is wise and political, but the difficulties to be surmounted are, I fear, insurmountable.

The Government of Madras, apprehensive of the designs of France, have resolved to augment their force by new levies of native troops. I think they have good reason to be on their guard, but I flatter myself before any attempt is made by the French Government on the Carnatic or Bengal, the alarm will be taken in England, and two regiments at least ordered to India for the protection of your possessions in the Bay. Believe me,* should the Carnatic or Bengal be invaded by a force of 10,000 Europeans, they will shake the power of the English in the East, and if they do not entirely subvert it, must in all probability give it such a blow as it will never recover. Report speaks largely of the French military strength at the Islands, and under the denomination of mariners to the French ships now in the river of Bengal, we have seen upwards of 2,000 Europeans at Chandernagore. It behoves the Government of England to be watchful for the safety of this rich kingdom, and not confide too much in the native forces, which at present constitute its greatest strength, for, be assured, they will fail you in the time of extremity against an European enemy.

The distractions in the Mahratta State appear to have past their crises, and the Government of the ministers to be established. Sudashaw Row or Sudâboy has been defeated, and taken prisoner, and Rogonaut Row has fled and taken protection once more at Bombay. What consequences may attend the receiving of Rogonaut Row, time will disclose. I apprehend the worst if the factions in that Government unite, and the best, if they continue divided and quarrelling amongst themselves. I can neither condemn or approve the conduct of Bombay on this occasion, as I am ignorant of the policy that determined it.

Calcutta, the 6th February 1777.

	Rs.	A.	P.
Ballance of the public treasuries	1,48,79,160	12	6
Opium, salt, and woolens, &c., as per estimate, 18th September 1776	60,71,094	0	0
Arrears of pay due account the troops to be received from the Nabob of Oude—stated the 17th January 1777 at 30 lacks of Oude siccas and a ballance in the Resident's hands of about 3 lacs in all 33,00,000 or about Crs.	36,30,000	0	0
Total current	2,45,80,254	12	6
Deduct as follows, viz. :—			
	Rs.	A.	P.
Deposits and bonds which may be claimed at the pleasure of the holders	15,32,243	12	9
Due on salt contracts which the Government must ultimate- ly pay per estimate, 18th September 1776	7,00,000	0	0
	<hr/>		
	22,32,243	12	9
6th February 1777. Nett total after payment of all debts	2,23,48,010	15	9

The sum of twenty-two millions three hundred and forty-eight thousand and ten rupees fifteen annas and nine pice appears and is the actual estate of the Company the 6th February 1777. So that by the 10th April 1777 to which period my estimate of the 18th September last extends, the full stated sum in that estimate will be forthcoming, viz., Rs. 2,49,08,869.

No. 525.

TO MR. MARY BARWELL.

CALCUTTA,

The 16th February, 1777.

MY DEAR SISTER,

This is simply to give you a letter from the Governor General and to beg your particular regard to those interests which so nearly concern us and which I wish to draw closer by effecting a friendship and confidence upon

the broadest foundation. I have not seen what he has written, but he has long treated to present himself before you, and I beg you will regard him as my friend.

No. 526.

TO JOHN JOHNSTONE, ESQ.

CALCUTTA,

The 8th January, 1777.

DEAR SIR,

I beg leave to trouble you with the account of the money in my hands in trust for Miss A. Keene as Mr. Leycester and Mr. Skinner are both in England. You will perceive by the accompanying accounts that the principle sum of current ten thousand remains entire and that there is a ballance of Cr. 70-6-6 due from me for interest. But as it is inconvenient for me to pay 9 per cent. for Miss A. Keene's money when I can borrow to any amount at only 5 per cent., I cannot allow her more than 5 per cent. from this day, especially as the Company's Treasury is so full of money that none can be received at any rate of interests. I know it may be said that money is borrowed here at a higher rate of interest, but those who take up money in that manner I do not choose to trust, as I may by your deed of assignment be obliged to make it good in case of accident. I wrote to Mr. Beaumont to this effect, which he acquainted Miss A. Keene with, who in her letter to me appears alarmed at having her income reduced. As I do not think myself authorized to pay the principal to any body not named in your deed of trust I shall be very much obliged if you and Miss A. Keene will join in granting R. Leycester, R. Skinner and me a release from the trust upon which I will at a moment's warning pay the money that may then be in my hands to who ever you and she may think proper that I may have nothing further to do with it, and in future it will not suit me to pay the interest in London, but it shall be paid here to any person Miss A. Keene may authorize to receive it.

I am also to trouble you respecting your other deed of assignment dated 1 August 1765 to R. Leycester, R. Barwell and R. Skinner of Cr. 17,141-14 in trust for Miss Betty Johnstone which sum was lent to William Bolts on his bond dated 10th January 1768 to James Johnstone, William Johnstone and Samuel Hannay trustees for Miss Betty Johnstone payable in London the 10th January 1770 at the rate of twenty-six pence sterling per current rupee which bond is now in my possession. I know nothing of Mr. Bolts's concerns, but from common report which are said to be bad enough, nor can I tell if any part of the principal or interest of his bond hath been paid in London agreeably to its tenor. This trust, you must recollect, was accepted by me to oblige you as well as the other in favor of Miss A. Keene without

any view of benefit to myself, and as the amount of Miss Betty Johnstone's money has been remitted to London by Mr. Bolts's said bond I request the favour of you to join Miss Bitty Johnstone in granting a release to R. Leycester, R. Skinner and me respecting the deed of assignment you executed in her favour that we may be relieved from the trust whilst the parties are living and not leave an opening for disputes after some of them are dead, which I am persuaded is the furthest from your wish, and that you will readily comply with my request in granting releases respecting those two trusts before mentioned.

No. 527.

TO MISS ANNE KEENE.

CALCUTTA,

The 8th January, 1777.

MADAM,

I am favored with yours of 30th March 1776 and am sorry to be under the necessity of refusing to allow more than 5 per cent. interest for the money of yours in my hands and also to acquaint you I cannot in future pay you the interest in London, but it shall be punctually paid here to whoever you may be pleased to authorize to receive it. And as I do not think myself authorized to pay the principal of your money to your attorneys, I have written to Mr. John Johnstone by this conveyance and enclosed him the account of your money in my hands and requested him to join with you in granting Messrs. Leycester, Skinner, and myself a release from the trust upon receipt of which the money then in my hands shall be immediately paid to whoever you and he may be pleased to authorize to receive it, but for particulars I beg leave to refer you to Mr. John Johnstone.

No. 528.

TO MRS. MARRY BARWELL.

CALCUTTA,

The 7th March, 1777.

MY DEAR SISTER,

I had flattered myself before this time with advices by the way of Bussorah as low down as August, but the town being possessed by the Persians and the country a scene of war, has, I imagine, interrupted the communication; not a letter that I can get information of having come to the hand of any individual. Resting then in the hope of the next intelligence proving agreeable to my wishes, I shall reconcile myself as well as I can to a state of uncertainty, and, without plaguing my head about the result of what may be

past or in agitation to Hastings or my detriment, wait with patience the fortune that attends us. Clavering as usual supplies the want of argument with scurrility and general abuse, and sensible of the prejudice of the publick, takes every occasion to fill the records with illiberal insinuations. The other day he introduced (as applicable to Hastings and myself) the sentiments delivered by Lord George Germaine and a gentleman of the House of Commons whose name I have forgot, on the manner of sending out Commissioners to India. These speeches whatever grounds may have been given for them, I am convinced, could not have been offered by such distinguished personages to involve every character in the east, but were pointed to the men and to the occasion that gave rise to the debate. However be that as it may, I flatter myself, neither the one nor the other of the Hon'ble speakers will be pleased to have been made Clavering a channel of invective against two men who were as much the choice of the Minister as the other three equally named by him, and who, I am confident, will to the best of their abilities discharge the trust with which they are vested. Whether they merit praise or be subject to censure, let the present state of the East India Company and the benefits flowing to Great Britain from their attention to the interests confided to them decide.

Mr. Francis whom, I mentioned to you in a former letter to be more guarded and more moderate than Clavering, had, I find, his particular view for the conduct he observed ; his object was to preserve to Mr. Bristow the station he held of Resident at the Court of Oude. This not being effected, he has decidedly opposed on all occasions, and with much good sense and ingenuity questioned particularly the measure undertaken by the Governor and myself of forming a complete registry of the landed property of the country. The difference of men, customs and manners he totally disregards in his disquisition of the subject, and writes direct for a mode of censing the country that must be against the interests of the Government, because it is not from the genius of the people in that state to admit of so summary a system as he lays down for the revenue. The rights of the commonalty which none of the regulations have as yet had force on the zemindars to define and fix, are still unsettled, and every art has been used by the lords of the land to evade compliance in a point that must emancipate the vassal and give him a known legal property independant of his lord. But Mr. Francis is not oversolicitous about this ; he talks of zemindaries as of estates in Europe, forgetting that in a measure which shall throw much wealth into the hands of any feudal chief, he arms him against the Government and raises within the Government a power that may be dangerous to the estate. Conceive to yourself Bengal divided and split into a number of principalities, holding under the English Government as Benares does, and then at any time or on any occasion the Rajahs

confiderating. Under such circumstances will any man in his senses imagine the very being of the English not to be at risk? The thing is self-evident, and Mr. Francis is totally mistaken in arguing from the policy of European states, since the abolition of feudal tenures took place amongst them, since property became more diffused and since the vassal became emancipated. In short there is evident danger in adopting Mr. Francis's ideas, who makes no distinction between using the zemindars in the just relation they stand unto Government as mere collectors of the revenue and lords of the manor, and making them independant princes (like the zemindars of Benares) of provinces as extensive a Burgundy when it aided the English arms against France. I fear to weary you by dwelling longer on a controversy that has wasted much paper and which will be submitted to you in the Governor's dispatches, and I should not have touched upon it here but in order to vindicate myself from the imputation of inconsistency in having approved the ministration of zemindars instead of farmers of the revenue and then for having assented to an investigation of the revenue, etc., etc., Adieu. My dear Sister

P.S.—You will show my letter to Mr. Savage as I do not believe I shall be able to write to him.

No. 529.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

CALCUTTA,

The 31st March, 1777.

MY DEAR SISTER,

No advices since the 24th of May last by the Suez conveyance having been received, the same state of suspense prevails, and various conjectures are formed of what may be the result of the opposing votes of the Directors and Proprietors on the differences that have arisen and still continue in our Councils. In the opinions of many, it is supposed, no changes will be made, and that the commission of Government will be suffered to expire without alteration. For myself I know not what judgment to form. I see on one hand the powerful interest of Clavering operating to Hastings's and my prejudice, and on the other the third year of the commission far advanced with no decisive measure adopted by the Ministry to deprive Mr. Hastings of his Government. I say no decisive measure for I regard not that to be such taken on a ballot of the Directors and opposed in the Proprietary, because the overruling influence of my Lord North, had that measure been with his participation, must have carried it through against any popular and jarring interests that could possibly have combated it. I have therefore all along regarded it as the particular measure of Clavering's connections which Lord

North did not chuse to check but left to make the trial, declining himself any interference in the prosecutions of their scheme. Persuaded as I am that no fortuitous support can avail Mr. H. and myself against any real intention of the Minister to a change, I can place no reliance but on his disposition to keep things on their present footing. The interest of a state combines, or should combine, the welfare of every constituent part, and these parts in a degree to the justness of their proportions, and to their disposition giving duration, strength and activity to the whole political fabrick, must be as much the object of a great Minister's attention, as their effect. Unless faction can impute to him so much madness as to suppose he looks for consequences entirely foreign and totally opposite to the means that produce them. That the Government has no interest whatever distinct from the people is a position self-evident, however much the subtlety of argument may have involved it and rendered it equivocal to the apprehensions of many. Nor have the Company more than individuals cause to repine at contributing in proportion to their ability, an ability they derive under the protection of that Government to which they would pretend to deny a participation. What the Administration may resolve upon respecting the Company is a question beyond my depth to determine. Of this however I am satisfied that wisdom and policy must yield to the Company all that is essential to their prosperity and preservation. The passions and prejudices of the vulgar do not ground the actions of statesmen, and the Company and whatever odium they lay under will, I should suppose, merit the Minister's care in any settlement he may make. With these sentiments it would be the height of folly in me to instigate my friends to an opposition to any settlement the Administration may be inclined to make; it would be unavailing whatever might be urged by factious leaders to the contrary, in order to impose on the unthinking part of mankind and render their credulity and passions subservient to their own views. In short, my dear Sister, whatever fortune attends me in this country, whether I prosper by the Minister's favor or retire before the prevailing interest of Clavering, engage in no opposition and join not in any cabals formed to obstruct the Minister's measures in a future settlement with the Company. I shall not hold you vindicated in any opposition unless a personal attack compels you in justification of Hastings or of myself.

No. 530.

TO MRS. BARWELL.

CALCUTTA,

The 31st March, 1777.

MY DEAR SISTER,

My letter of this date gives you my political creed in pretty express terms, and I mean, if occasion offers, that you should impress a just idea of

my implicit reliance on the wisdom of Administration. If there be any bar to my being employed in the Bengal Council, I am content to relinquish my station, whether I be or be not gratified in any other way. Fairly tired out with contention, I feel an indolence about me that inclines me to retirement, unless I could depend and had assurance of such support as would encourage me to bear the unpleasant burden, and excite the exertion of any little powers that might be serviceable to the publick, and honorable to myself. But while my apprehensions are alarmed, and I am taught to believe that every villainous aspersion will carry the force of truth, I am almost indifferent, at least I have not that solicitude about me, which so active a Government and such complicated scenes require. Could I be removed to Fort Saint George, or could I be translated to the charge of the Company's commercial-interests here, with powers independent of the Council General, and at the head of a Board not exceeding six members, though I would rather chuse it to consist of four only, either of these changes would be a relief to me. In the first I should hope to answer the united views of the Ministry and Company, and in the latter which would not be very agreeable to my turn of mind, prove a good commercial agent, in which capacity I should have time to realize my fortune, and wait a season of less prejudice to return to England, for it is terrible to me at least to think of the prejudices that prevail, if they do as I am informed involve all Indians without distinction. Besides since my marriage, I am less anxious about Europe, and more inclined to pursue Fortune in the East, than step forward in the western world under the banner of the Ministry with greater obstacles than are opposed to me in a scene I am acquainted with. I consider, I should appear in England as a stranger, and if my attachment to the ruling power in the State gave me any consideration with the rulers, I should be regarded with impatience even by many associated in the same cause. At the same time, I should have my feeling daily wounded by illiberal abuse cast at random by the opposing faction. An active scene in England, of course, is not a desirable object to me. I am convinced it would distract my peace of mind, and so ill can my spirit brook wrongs, that it would probably carry me into extremes that would either cost me my life, or force me to fly my country, to save it from the rigor of the law. And yet I think my temper so well regulated as to be proof against the impulse of sudden rage, capable of bearing much, though to some occasions my patience, I acknowledge, would not be equal. What those are you have already one instance given you in 1775, and there may be others, under which I might prove equally culpable. My dear Friend, excuse the faults of my nature, I know your partial regard makes you anxious to see me step into life in England, and that it flatters you with prospects in my favor far beyond what my abilities will answer. I speak it

not out of modesty, thoroughly acquainted with my own deficiencies I pronounce myself ill qualified for the path of ambition that it would please you to engage me in.

I have written some letters of recommendation to you from those urging it to me, whom I could not well refuse, but it is not my wish that you should notice them by any particular exertions on your part. You will therefore regard them as things of course, and be deviated in any attention you give them by circumstances, for I meant not either to waste my interest or yours, in the views of men to whom I have no particular attachment, though I would willingly serve them if it fell in my way without laying myself under obligation to others. This intimation is necessary as your affection might otherwise interpret such letters to be entitled to an attention from you I do not require.

I enclose you some extraordinary dispositions taken before the Supreme Court of Judicature on the transactions of the Armenian, who was countenanced by Clavering and his faction. They are merely to give the uninformed an insight into the character of the man who has been Clavering's instrument to villify me, and who has been represented to the publick as being undeservedly treated by me in being deprived of his salt agency. Such a monster of barbarity stands, however, not only exposed, but cast for such high damages that he will with difficulty, I think, be able to answer them. He has retired to the Dutch Settlement to elude, if possible, the decision of the Bench. How long he will continue there, or the Dutch Government give him protection, time will shew. Many illiberal insinuations have passed from Clavering on the prosecutions commenced against this man, none of which have I noticed, in the persuasion truth would overbear the malevolent spirit that dictated them and expose the arts by which Clavering would screen such a villain from justice, and represent him as suffering in the publick cause, "because he had dared to charge me with having profitted from the salt contracts" a thing I all along avowed, and at no one time made a secret of.

About a month since I moved the Council to demand the accounts of the Rajah of Burdwan's household; this motion passed, and an order was issued to the Council of Burdwan, to apply for the accounts. To this application, the Rannee, or mother of the Rajah, replied, the household Dewan having relinquished his office, had nothing to do with the accounts, that she would neither deliver the particulars in explanation of her short made-up abstract of the household, or submit the vouchers to inspection. In consequence much altercation has passed on the right of Government to make this demand. Clavering and Francis violently contest it, declaring it an arbitrary act of power. Pray read with attention the Governor's Minutes on this subject; they exhibit in a striking light the conduct of the late Majority and the shameless

effrontery of the opposition, attempting to reconcile positive contradictions. Their motive in supporting the Rannee in her refusal is best known to themselves—mine for calling for the accounts were information I received of the zemindar's income being dissipated by the Rannee, to gratify the Household Dewan who has been long her kept gallant, and of donations to the amount of upwards of two lacs for removing Brijookissore and Prankissore Metre, at or near the period the Majority turned those men out of office, to introduce two of Nuncomar's recommendation, and to make the Rannee the guardian to her son, and the disposer of the income of his estate. My information I have every reason to credit, it coincides with the communication made to the Governor. But it was neither prudent nor necessary to make any charge, while the more moderate and direct mode offered of calling for the accounts, and vouchers of the household disbursements. What will result from this inquiry is immaterial to the question of right—the Government can or cannot demand the accounts. If it cannot, those who are no more than the stewards to the young zemindar, are subject to no controul, and may dispose of the property of their ward at their pleasure, without being accountable for their management to any jurisdiction whatever. Had the Rajah been of age, and in the management of his own affairs, the General and Mr. Francis would be right, though even then, upon their principles, the Government may set on foot any inquisition it pleases. Witness the number of commissions, the late Majority gave to different peoples to ransack the country for papers, and the support given those commissioners in the exercise of a lawless severity to influence the zemindars to make up accounts, to answer their views. Striking are the actions of Rosewell in Midnapore, John Sumner in Hidglee and Heatly in Jessore. But Rosewell's transcends all: he promised to excuse the payment of the publick revenue to any amount the zemindars would charge against the officers of Government, who had been entrusted with the collections. This not fully answering, he put the people under restraint, and, because one Narrainsutputty remonstrated against his proceedings, he recommended to the Council of Burdwan to strip him of his hereditary lands, under the plea of seizing them for ballances he affirms to be due from the man on some commercial transaction with the Company, as such an example, he says, will greatly facilitate his endeavors, by deterring others who have the presumption to demurr to his orders, or in other words "not to act agreeably to his views." The Burdwan Consultations on Mr. Rosewell's transactions at Midnapore, clearly show what any man of principle or honor would blush to countenance, and yet though such absurdity, knavery, and folly, are combined in this man's actions, they have found for advocates General Clavering and Mr. Francis, who say, he is an unhappy victim to his zeal which has exposed the corruption of the creatures of the old Government—shameless impudence,

when nothing more is exposed than simple disbursements in the course of business, and intercourse of the parties, which no Government under the sun can prevent, and which only become criminal when complained against. The inquisitions thus set on foot by the late Majority have cost the Company a sum not less than (crs. 1,40,000) current rupees one hundred and forty thousand, of which Rosewell, has drawn about 25,000, to stimulate his zeal. If I get a particular account of the acqisitors and their charges attested by the Accomptant, I will send it, but I apprehend from the disbursements on this head being made from different offices, that it cannot be prepared so accurately as to allow of an attestation to a complete and full statement. However, what he can trace to have been actually paid for these inquisitions, he may attest, and prove in part what I affirm, that the late Majority have expended of the Company's property, at least 1,40,000 rupees, for no other purpose than to prosecute their own resentments, and from which no one single advantage was proposed, or could possibly arise to the public. Yet two of that Majority when an explanation of an abstract account delivered to the Board is asked for, and the vouchers to prove the disbursements pretended to be made demanded, tell us we have no right to make such a request. To what end then, may I ask, was it stipulated that accounts should be regularly delivered into Government? If Government cannot investigate them when delivered, was it done in mockery of the common sense of the Directors, and to impose on them, with a show of attention to the disbursements of the Burdwan Rajah's household? That was never intended. If so I have nothing to urge, and Clavering and Francis are entirely consistent in their present opposition.

Tell Mr. Robinson, Mr. Wordsworth is to be removed from his present employment in a few days, that I have secured him a place in Mr. Law's family at Patna, and an income of 200 sicca Rupees or crs. 232 per month, as Assistant at that factory, and further make my apology for not writing to him.

I shall write to you again by the Men of War. In the mean time remember me to my sister Fanny, and tell her, if she will give me a specimen of her taste in the choice of a quantity of neat mahogany furniture, which you will pay for, and get James to send out, by buying up the privileges of some of the mates, carpenters, gunners, etc., of the India ships, I shall be much obliged to her. Any elegant useful toys, not the tinsell shewy good for nothing things Indians are generally supposed to be fond of, will be acceptable. I should likewise be obliged, if you could get purchased for me in France, and sent out on the French ships, four pairs of looking glasses, 6 or 7 feet long by 4 feet broad, without frames as the French frames are seldom elegant, though their glasses are much superior to ours. The frames may be made in.

England, if you cannot depend on their being made by any particular pattern in frame. At any rate the glasses must not be packed framed, as they run much greater risk of being broke, from the increased largeness of their package, and the warping of the frames. The frames and glasses therefore must have separate packages. At the same time you send the commission for the glasses, you will not forget remnants of fashionable silks for men's cloaths, and some handsome light silk brocades (no gold nor silver) for women's gowns and sacks. *N.B.* I mean by mahogany furniture commodes, dressing and tea tables, large bureaux, cloths presses, book cases, arm chairs and couches, any of these picked up at any of the public sales, will answer my purposes as well as if they were new.

[*To be continued.*]

